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ART. I.—RECENT SCOTTISH HISTORIANS.

History of the Highlands and Gaelic Scotland, by DUGALD MITCHELL, M.D. Paisley and London: Alex. Gardner. 1900.

History of Scotland from the Roman Occupation, by ANDREW LANG. In two volumes—Vol. I, Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons. 1900.

IF proof were needed that the interest in Scottish history has largely developed within recent years, it would be afforded by the simultaneous appearance of the separate works by Dr. Mitchell and Andrew Lang. The first twenty-eight chapters of Dr. Mitchell's book cover almost the same period as occupies Mr. Lang's first volume, and as the two histories have been written independent of each other, they afford striking opportunities for contrasting the views of the writers upon debated points. While it is abundantly evident that both writers have abandoned the conventional methods of writing Scottish history which have hitherto prevailed, they have by no means adopted similar courses, and their conclusions are sometimes diametrically opposite. All which proves that Schlegel's fond dream of evolving a 'philosophy of his-

tory' by treating it as an exact science subject to immutable laws, is a delusion and a snare. Even Dr. Draper's broad-visioned sketch of 'The Intellectual Development of Europe' is defective because it ignores the trifles that 'make the sum of human things,' and discovers great principles at work where only petty jealousies and foolish blunders are the active agents in making history. The adequate historian, if worthy of the name, requires a more complete mental equipment than poet, novelist, or philosopher. He must be a palæographer, able to read for himself the ancient documents on which he founds his theories. He must be able to balance evidence like a juris-consult; to understand the workings of the human mind like a moral philosopher; to appreciate the romance of life and the nobler sentiments like a balladist or a didactic poet; and to describe incidents, warlike and pathetic, in the glowing language and with the fluent pen of the most accomplished fictioneer. And it is precisely in proportion to his possession of these qualities that the right of a historian to that designation is secured.

Hitherto Scottish historians have been chiefly remarkable for the over-development of one characteristic of the true historian at the expense of all the others. The early writers of history—Wyntoun, Fordoun, and Boece—were only credible when they wrote the annals of their own times. They were lamentably deficient in the power of collecting and weighing evidence of any events that did not come within their own very limited range. The annalistic form of writing history survived for centuries, and its full defects were exhibited by Sir James Balfour and by Bishop Burnet, the latter of whom, like his great fore-runners John Knox and George Buchanan, degraded history to the level of partisan pamphleteering. Then came the period of the philosophical historian. Sir David Dalrymple, Lord Hailes, had a glimpse of the proper functions of a historian; but his chief recommendation was 'honest doubt,' which was destructive rather than constructive. David Hume carried some of the methods of philosophy into the domain of his history; but he too was not above the suspicion of tampering with facts in the interests

of faction. The lofty diction and sonorous language of Principal Robertson do not hide from the modern critic his incapacity as an investigator. Sir Walter Scott, on the other hand, was captivated by the romantic episodes which appealed to his poetic mind ; but, indeed, Sir Walter never rose above the idea that history afforded excellent material for the 'Tales of a Grandfather.' The best service that Scott ever rendered to history was in recommending his young friend Patrick Fraser Tytler to take it up as a serious subject for study. To Tytler belongs the honour of having first preferred documentary evidence to tradition, and of having devoted years to laborious research before he ventured to pen a line. Had it been possible to combine Tytler's method of patient investigation with Scott's keen appreciation of romance, there would have been a history produced of super-excellent quality. But Tytler had not the art of making the dry bones of history live again, and to the general reader his great work maintains a monotonous level of deadly dulness. Macaulay combined the brilliancy of Scott with the partizanship of Burnet ; the one quality gained many readers, the other deposed him from the front rank among historians.

Among the writers of history strictly contemporary with this generation, three names stand forth conspicuously ; these are Froude, Hill Burton, and Skene. Though an Englishman, primarily concerned with English history, Froude had to deal so much with Scotland that his methods call for remark. His researches were wide and accurate, and his literary style was fascinating and romantic ; but he was shrewdly suspected of suppressing facts when they militated against his pre-conceived theories—witness his dealings with the Simancas Records ; and he was petulant when criticised, and often descended to squabbling with unworthy opponents. A very clever epigram hits off this failing. When Froude was chosen Lord Rector of St. Andrews University, he delivered a diatribe against clerical historians. About the same time his brother-in-law, Canon Charles Kingsley, then Professor of History at Cambridge, in one of his lectures deplored the incredibility of much that passes for history. The comical position was thus described :—

'Froude informs the Scottish youth,
 That Parsons have no care for truth ;
 While Canon Kingsley loudly cries,
 That history is a pack of lies.
 What cause for difference so malign ?—
 A brief reflection solves the mystery,
 For Froude thinks Kingsley a divine,
 And Kingsley goes to Froude for history.'

John Hill Burton belonged to that period when doubt had become the chief weapon of the historical investigator. He had rather a bitter wit, and was merciless to those of his predecessors whom he caught tripping ; yet it is unquestionable that he brought together the best result of the research of his time, and placed Scottish history in a better position than that in which he found it. Dr. Skene cleared away many of the myths regarding Celtic Scotland, and though his early works do not always agree with his later writings, he was a worthy successor of Hill Burton as Historiographer-Royal for Scotland.

These writers, entitled as they are to varied degrees of fame, have all left the scene of their labours, and one must look around to discover upon whom the historian's mantle has fallen. Four writers of the present day have some claim to this distinction. Dr. D. Hay Fleming's *History of Queen Mary*, though still incomplete, shows that he has successfully followed the traditions of the Tytler school of historians. He is a patient and persistent researcher, and has brought to light many historical facts which were either unknown or misread. Sometimes, perhaps, he spends disproportionate labour upon unimportant items, and he has been aptly compared to Bunyan's 'Man with the Muck-rake,' whose work is no doubt valuable, but who never lifts his head to the broader outlook within the range of his vision. Nor is he quite innocent of the charge of treating Roman Catholic questions from a distinctly adverse point of view. Dr. P. Hume Brown made a name for himself by his masterly study of *George Buchanan, Humanist*, and by his erudite biography of John Knox. Only the first volume of his *History of Scotland* has been published, and though it is very condensed and is not absolutely free

from venial slips as to facts and errors of judgment, it is in many respects an excellent model. But neither of these two writers is possessed of the rare gift of making history attractive and pleasant to read. In this respect Andrew Lang (who is also an LL.D., by the way, though he modestly omits the degree from his title-page) far transcends all his competitors. He is a poet, and has published verses which no man can number; he is a novelist—witness his story called *A Monk of Fife*, and his share in another named *Parson Kelly*; he is a philosopher, and has discoursed on mythology, the evolution of religion, folk-lore, and kindred subjects in ethics and ethnology; and he has studied both written and unwritten history. He is, moreover, the master of a flowing literary style, and can brighten the darkest subjects by a delicate play of humour, without descending to buffoonery. There is another quality he possesses which makes him especially original in his treatment of history; it is what, without offence, may be called the feminine instinct which enables him to arrive at conclusions without the laborious drudgery of reasoning about them. Hence he is often right in his inferences, though he could not always defend them by strict syllogisms. While respecting the ideas of his predecessors, he is independent enough to refuse to be 'thirled' to them because of their antiquity or their general acceptance. From such a writer one may expect a history that will be original both in matter and manner. Dr. Mitchell's style differs from that of Mr. Lang. He has not the same light literary touch, and he is more intent upon giving the true version of a story than merely interesting the reader by its superficial romanticism. But he has made a thorough study of the Scotland of Celtic times, and is entitled to rank beside Dr. Skene in this particular. It will be convenient to contrast the methods of these two historians when treating the same subject.

One of the conspicuous figures in the early history of Scotland is Kenneth Mac Alpin. According to the *Chronicle of Huntingdon*, Kenneth 'in the seventh year of his reign, when the Danish pirates had seized the sea-coasts, and had utterly crushed the Picts with very great slaughter as they defended

their possessions, crossing into the remaining territories of the Picts, turned his arms against them, and, having slain many, compelled them to fly, and thus he, first King of Scots, obtained the sovereignty of all Albania, which now is called Scotland, and in it he first ruled over the Scots'—meaning the Scots in the later and wider sense. Here was surely an epoch in the history of the Kingdom, more important, relatively, in its results than the Union of the Crowns in 1603, or the Union of the Parliaments in 1707. But Mr. Lang does not rise to the occasion, and dismisses the whole matter in two paragraphs, following Dr. Skene in his blunders with reprehensible fidelity. There is now no question that Skene confounded Alpin, the father of Kenneth, with another Alpin who was King of the Picts from 726 to 728, and was slain at Pitalpin (now Pitelby) beside the Law of Dundee, at least a century before Kenneth was born. While Mr. Lang does not homologate all Skene's statements, remitting some of them to the debateable land of his notes, he is inclined to treat the remarkable episode of the union of the Picts and Scots with a lightness that approaches flippancy. He even invents jocular names which he inserts in the chronological lists of the Kings of Pictavia, that he may bring a smile to the face of the perplexed reader. Here is how he leaps over the difficulty of a whole century:—

The ebbs and flows of fortune in these far-off wars are difficult to follow. They ended in 'the undisputed ascendancy of the Pict' Angus Mac Feargus (730). He was counted as an ally by the English Kings of Mercia and Northumbria, and in his conquests over the Dalriad Scots (Irish of Argyll) and the Britons of Strathclyde 'may be traced apparently the germs of the future Kingdom of Scotland.' Angus died in 761, his consolidated realm fell to pieces, and it is useless to clog the memory with the names of Drust and Bile, Brud and Aed. The brief chronicles usually give to each year '*Jugulatio* of So-and-so. These monarchs *jugulated* each other till in 839 the Northmen, who burned Iona in 802—the ecclesiastical centre was removed later to Dunkeld—ravaged northern Ireland, crossed to Scotland, and routed the men of Fortrenn. This left a door open for Kenneth Mac Alpine [sic] of Kintyre, who first mastered Dalriada and two years later (846-860) became King of the Picts after a series of victories over them. This Kenneth was a Scot by his father's side, but apparently a Pict by his maternal ancestry. Thus from a Pictish point of view Kenneth was a Pict; from a Dalriad-Scottish point of view he was a

Scot, and 'national susceptibilities' were conciliated by his accession. The Scots could say 'Here we Scots are lords of Pictland'; the Picts could say 'Here we have a genuine Pict of the old sort of King.' But as civilised mankind has reckoned descent and nationality by the father's, not, in the Pictish fashion, by the mother's side, Kenneth, though perhaps a Pict among Picts, was a Scot 'to all Europe.' Hence his Kingdom came later to be called Scotland, with all the territory later won as far south as Tweed. And thus the Scots, originally Irish, have given their name to a country whereof perhaps the greatest part of the natives are as English by blood as they are by speech.

Dr. Mitchell treats this subject in a more adequate manner, and points out Dr. Skene's errors in a convincing fashion. He does not think it a work of supererogation to give a full list of forty Kings of Pictavia from Drust, son of Erp, who was probably 'jugulated' in 453, to Drost, son of Ferat, who unsuccessfully contested the sovereignty of Kenneth Mac Alpin in 846. The strange obliquity of vision which led Dr. Skene to invent a theory as to Kenneth's place of origin, in direct contradiction of existing records, is thus exposed:—

Whence Kenneth came in the year 841 Dr. Skene has no difficulty in determining. He says:—'Kenneth emerged from Galloway where the last remnant of the Scots of Dalriada disappear from history nearly a century before.' If so, a most marvellous resurrection must now have occurred; and besides, it seems not a little wonderful that the entire subjugation of a nation could have been effected without its being definitely referred to by any early writer. But, indeed, Skene's contention raises many more difficulties than it solves. To bring the Scots into Galloway in 741, in an invasion of despair, and that without the authority of any record of such an invasion at that time; to leave them there though their King had been killed in the contest; to consign them for well nigh a hundred years to exile in that district, in spite of statements in the native and other chronicles which point to very different conclusions; and then to bring them forward after all these quiet years in 834 out of Galloway as invaders of Fifeshire rather than into Galloway as invaders of that district, as asserted in the chronicles, has not much to commend it to the ordinary reader, and while we would ask how we are to account for the reigns of Sedh and Feargus over Dalriada as testified by the *Annals of Ulster*, we may well further inquire how, if the Scots were so numerous and so influential in Galloway as to be able to come forth as a powerful people with a King of their own both in 834 and 841, we never hear anything in the future of the connection of Kenneth with his successors with that district.

This quotation, while it proves Dr. Mitchell's incisive method of dispelling figments of the historical imagination, also shows the weakness of his literary style. The last portentous, sesquipedalian sentence, with its involutions of Teutonic tortuosity, requires to be carefully studied before it can be apprehended. Macaulay would have chopped it up into ten staccato sentences, while Mr. Lang would certainly have interpolated a line of poetry or a verse from a ballad, greatly to the relief of the reader. But the matter is right, however imperfect the manner may be, and Dr. Mitchell's later treatment of the history of Kenneth Mac Alpin shows that he properly estimates the far-reaching influence of that King's reign.

While Dr. Mitchell clearly has the advantage over Mr. Lang in the matter of King Kenneth, the case is reversed in another instance to which reference may be made. Every one acquainted with the romantic history of the Hebrides knows the pathetic story of 'The Lady of the Rock,' which Thomas Campbell made the subject of his poem 'Glenara.' Surely this was an incident which might have attracted a lyrist like Mr. Lang, even had a staid historian like Dr. Mitchell passed it by without comment. But on this occasion the two writers exchange places. Dr. Mitchell describes the episode in impassioned language, while Mr. Lang drily dismisses the story by a passing allusion, and hints in a note that he doubts its authenticity, giving dates which flatly contradict Dr. Mitchell's narrative. The tale as narrated by Dr. Mitchell is as follows:—

Upon the west coast a highly dramatic incident occurred in 1527, which was in later years productive of much strife and bloodshed. The scene of it was a rock at the south end of Lismore, and the chief actors Lachlan Cattanach Maclean of Duart and his wife the Lady Elizabeth, sister of the then Earl of Argyll. The union of this couple proved unhappy, and as the eye of the chief fell upon a daughter of Maclean of Treshnish, a comely lady of his own clan, he conceived the idea of ridding himself of the Lady Elizabeth by exposing her on an isolated rock which at high water was deeply covered. With the aid of several clansmen the savage chief placed her on the rock in the evening hour, and on this place of certain death left her to her fate. But just as the waves were breaking over her a deliverance came, and she was rescued by the crew of a boat

sent out by one of the chief's body-guard, who had come to hear of the villainy that was being perpetrated. By these men the unhappy lady was taken to the mainland, and escorted to her brother's stronghold at Inveraray. Of the rescue Lachlan knew nothing, but communicated to the Earl the news of the death of his sister from natural causes and his desire that she should be interred in the tomb of her ancestors. For the time the Earl kept his counsel, and within a few days the tearful husband, accompanied by many followers, arrived at the Castle bearing a coffin containing a lay figure. But the tables were turned upon the thunder-struck monster when, on being ushered into the dining-hall where the family sat at dinner, he found the Lady Elizabeth seated at the head of the table. Cattanach was allowed to escape, and no dramatic catastrophe occurred, but the resentment of the Campbells at the odious act burned deeply into their souls. Many years afterwards, when Maclean was an old man of eighty years, that resentment found expression in his murder at the hands of Sir John Campbell of Calder, brother of the Lady Elizabeth. The deed of vengeance was perpetrated while the aged chief was resting in his bed in Edinburgh, to which he had come under letters of protection.

This story is related with so much circumstantiality, and is so thoroughly in the spirit of the times that at first sight it seems quite credible. But Mr. Lang puts on his doubting cap, and shivers the whole fabric by a cannonade of dates. His statement in the text is as bald as could be:—

Among the causes of all this conflict between the Campbells on one hand, and the Macdonalds and Macleans on the other, had been, tradition avers, the ill-treatment of Argyll's sister by her husband, Maclean of Dowart. He exposed his wife on a rock, the Lady Rock, near Lismore, whence she was rescued by a passing vessel. Campbell of Cawdor, therefore, the brother of Argyll, stabbed Dowart in his bed in Edinburgh (1523).

Not content with destroying the romance by describing it as a "tradition," Mr Lang artfully inserts the date 1523, which effectively wrecks Dr. Mitchell's pathetic legend; and then he deprives it of every shadow of credibility by one of his caustic notes:—

Mr. Hume Brown (p. 378) after giving the story of the Lady's Rock, and the murder of Maclean, in revenge, by Campbell of Cawdor, says, 'To avenge their chief, the Macleans at once took up arms, and it was at this juncture that James became master of his own person, and King in reality.' James did this in 1528, but Maclean was murdered by Cawdor, and twenty-four other Celts, *tempore proclamacionis exercitus nostri apud*

Werk—that is October-November 1523. See the Remission for the murder granted to Calder on December 15, 1524. (*The Thanes of Cawdor*, p. 147, Spalding Club). The Pollok MS. dates the murder 'the tent day of November, 1523.' Mr. Cosmo Innes doubts the legend of the Lady's Rock. Whether the Campbell lady exposed on the rock was aunt or sister of Colin, third Earl of Argyll, I cannot say. Cawdor was brother of Colin, and, according to Mr. Hume Brown, of the lady in question, who can hardly have been aunt to one brother (Colin) and sister to another brother (John).

It is perfectly clear that a poet, however romantic in his inspired moments, is not to be imposed upon by any trumpery traditional fustian when in his war-paint as a bellicose historian. Cawdor could not have been pardoned for a crime four years before it was committed, if Dr. Hume Brown be correct; and Dr. Mitchell's 'many years after' 1527 as the date of Maclean's murder renders confusion worse confounded.

The contrasts afforded by these two works will have convinced the reader that the student of history who desires to be well-furnished will require both of them. Mr. Lang is at his best when dealing with the ethnology of the early inhabitants of Scotland, is less satisfactory when treating of the Scoto-Pictish period, but resumes wonted ease when he comes within the range of written history. Dr. Mitchell, on the other hand, gives a masterly and independent account of the separate kingdoms of the Picts and Scots, and as he confines himself to the history of the Highlands so far as it affects the general history of the country, his book contains much that cannot readily be obtained elsewhere. His volume covers the whole period 'from the earliest times till the close of the 'Forty-five,' while Mr. Lang's first volume terminates with the murder of Cardinal Beaton. It will be in the second portion of his work that Mr. Lang will come more immediately into contact with Dr. Mitchell, when the deeds of Montrose, his rival Argyll, Claverhouse, and the heroes and scoundrels of 1715 and 1745 are under discussion. Regarded as a whole, Dr. Mitchell's *History of the Highlands and Gaelic Scotland* is a most valuable contribution to the literature of the subject, and as it includes the results of the most recent research, it will likely remain an authority for many years to come. The author is a leal-

hearted Gael, tender towards the feelings of his countrymen, but never so much of a partisan as to pass uncensured such actions as honour and justice would condemn. Unquestionably his heart 'warms to the tartan,' and he would fain carry back the date of the origin of the kilt to the days of Magnus Barefoot, towards the close of the eleventh century. His sketch of Celtic literature, condensed as it is, sufficiently shows his familiarity with the subject at first hand. The patient labour which he has bestowed upon the work, is worthy of high praise.

As Mr. Lang's 'History' covers a wider field, it involves him in thorny discussions upon oft-debated points. In several cases his clear insight and what one might call, in the language of Psychical Researchers, his 'supra-normal and sub-liminal power' has enabled him clear away by a few trenchant phrases the mists of battle raised by contending theorists around otherwise simple questions. Though he has not fully apprehended King Kenneth's position in history as the uniter of two races at enmity, Mr. Lang has completely understood the work of Malcolm Canmore as the first feudal monarch of Scotland. Christianity came from Ireland in the person of St. Columba, but feudalism and settled government was introduced from England by the fugitive Edgar *Ætheling*, while the primitive Culdee Church was reformed off the face of the earth by Malcolm's English wife, the sainted Margaret. Before Malcolm's time each landholder had to keep himself by his sword; the feudal system, by uniting separate forces under a common leader ensured protection from foes within and without the kingdom. The stream of civilization took a decidedly English course, and barbarism fled to the extreme north and to the remote Hebridean isles. But this same feudal system, excellent as it was within the realm, produced serious complications at a later date, for the Scottish Kings, by marriage or inheritance, often held lands in England for which they had to do homage to the English king. The spectacle of a Scottish king doing homage to his English over-lord naturally produced the notion in the minds of both sovereign and people that Scotland was a subject kingdom. Mr. Lang refrains from giving a definite opinion upon this subject,

but he carefully states the arguments advanced by leading debaters on both sides. The simplest way of looking at the matter is this: Previous to the capture of William the Lion by Henry II. in 1174, no king of England had any claim to Scotland by right of conquest. William was carried prisoner to Falaise, and there Henry extorted from him the unpatriotic Treaty of Falaise, whereby the English king was to obtain possession of the castles of Edinburgh, Stirling, Berwick, Roxburgh, and Jedburgh; William, his brother David, his barons, and his clergy, were all to become vassals of Henry II.; and the English sovereign was to exercise the same control over Scotland as if he had conquered the country at the head of an army. The terms of this treaty are precise. Casuists might contend that such a deed, executed by a prisoner in durance and under threat of death, could not be binding. At a later date it was held that Queen Mary's abdication in Lochleven Castle, signed in fear of personal violence, was of none effect. But in William's case it is proved that the subjects whom he had bound by the treaty performed their parts so far as homage was concerned. This subjection to England continued till the death of Henry II. in 1189, and he was succeeded by Richard the Lion-hearted, who was then 'on fire to head a crusade,' and needed money. He sold back to William for 100,000 merks of silver the Scottish castles, and agreed generally to the abrogation of the Treaty of Falaise. Scotland thus regained her independence, for Richard's new treaty was a voluntary one. From that time (1189) until Edward I. in 1291 claimed to be Lord-Paramount in Scotland, no English king had asserted an administrative right over the northern kingdom. Mr. Lang points out that Mr. Freeman's assertion that Malcolm Canmore became the vassal of William the Conqueror at Abernethy in 1072, is not founded on credible evidence; and he also very pertinently remarks that as this superiority was not claimed by any English monarch until Henry II. had captured William the Lion, it may be dismissed as visionary. He might have added that if Henry had believed that he had an indefeasible hereditary right to the over-lordship of Scotland, he would never have 'extorted'

the Treaty of Falaise. And as that treaty was nullified by Richard I., and as William the Lion treated with King John on terms of equality, the notion of the subjection of Scotland had been exploded.

Nevertheless, this doctrine survived at the Court of England, and unquestionably Edward I. was trained to believe that the English Crown retained sovereign rights over Scotland. Perhaps Mr. Lang hardly does justice to the genius of Edward, and allows his Scottish nationality to warp his judgment in this respect. It is natural that a compatriot of Wallace should feel stirred with indignation against the preposterous claims of one whom he regards as an overbearing tyrant. This was not Edward's character. He was a dauntless soldier, a master in the art of warfare, and a far-seeing statesman, whose plans would have brought peace to Scotland three centuries before the Union of the Crowns. But he had not justice on his side; and when he sought to compel the Scots to submit to a yoke which they resented, the spirit of the nation revolted, and the War of Independence was the result. It is more reasonable, however, to conclude that Edward believed he had hereditary claims upon Scotland, than to think that, as in the wolf-and-lamb fable, he deliberately invented excuses for laying violent hands upon a neighbouring kingdom that had been deprived unexpectedly of its sovereign. Mr. Lang seems to think that only in the case of Scotland was Edward blameworthy:—

‘ The greatest of the Plantagenets, the brave warrior, the open-handed friend, the true lover, the generally far-sighted politician, was not the false and cruel monster of early Scottish legend. But he was mortal. Clement by disposition and policy, his temper could be stirred into cruelty by opposition. He had in his nature, too, as we have said, that thread of the attorney which the good and wise Sir Walter Scott remarked in his own noble character. This element is undeniably present in Edward's dealings with Scotland. He took advantage of her necessities, and of the weaknesses and ambitions of her Anglo-Norman foreign leaders, to drive the hardest of all conceivable bargains. Having decided the plea in favour of Balliol, as was just, it was now in Edward's power to support Balliol, and to treat him with generous and statesmanlike forbearance. That course, and that alone, might have merged Scotland with England in “a union of hearts and interests.” Edward took precisely the opposite course. “To Balliol the vassal he was uniformly lenient and just; to

Balliol the King he was proud and unbending to the last degree." Not satisfied with suzerainty, he was determined to make Scotland his property, his very own. The easiest way to do that was to goad even Balliol into "rebellion," and then to confiscate the kingdom of Balliol. This was what Edward deliberately did. The result was that, far from winning Scotland, Edward converted that nation into a dangerous enemy, and presented France with a serviceable ally. Edward's end to unite the whole island was excellent. The end, however, did not justify the means, for the means were to press in a pettifogging spirit every legal advantage to the extreme verge, or beyond the extreme verge of the letter of the law.'

It is not easy to see why Edward, with all the noble qualities that Mr. Lang admits that he possessed, should be the victim of a *lues Scotiae*, and that the brilliant hero in camp and senate should become a mere 'pettifogger' towards, and only towards, Scotland. But just as it was difficult for Edward to cast off the notion of his right to rule Scotland, which had been drilled into him from boyhood, so it is an arduous task to make the modern Scot, trained by patriotic ballad-singers, to believe that Edward was aught save a ruthless tyrant, and that his son was 'a proud usurper.'

When dealing with the War of Independence, Mr. Lang brings out a fact which has been often overlooked. He shows that the banner of freedom was kept aloft and flying more by the ecclesiastics of Scotland than by any other class. It is true that they did so often at the expense of consistency and outraged conscience, for, as Mr. Lang remarks, 'the Bishops argued that to fight Edward was as meritorious as to take part in a crusade.' Lamberton, Bishop of St. Andrews, was thrice forsworn, and Wishart, Bishop of Glasgow, broke his solemn oath eight times. Indeed, it seems as if these pious clerics never swore fealty without mental reservations; just as a modern Scottish Dissenting minister signs the Confession of Faith and then skulks behind a nullifying Declaratory Act. However they may have excused themselves, it is clear that from the time of Wallace till the Reformation of 1560, the patriotic spirit was kept alive chiefly by the ecclesiastics. These men were possibly unscrupulous in their methods, salving their consciences by the sophistry that they were doing evil that good might come; but, nevertheless, it was by

prelates like Wishart, Lamberton, Frazer, Kennedy, James Beaton, and David Beaton that Scotland was preserved from falling an easy prey to English astuteness and force. Their labours have not hitherto obtained the recognition which they deserve, probably because the historians of Scotland from John Knox onwards have been Protestants, who, unconsciously to themselves, looked askance upon Roman Catholic politicians. Mr. Lang has approached the matter with an unprejudiced mind, and, for the first time, perhaps, has given an unbiased account of the services rendered by these much-abused patriots. The average Protestant historian writes as though the Reformation in Scotland were a kind of modern miracle; but Mr. Lang's account of it is eminently reasonable:—

'In nothing has the character of the Lowland Scot since 1560 differed from the character of his southern kinsman of England so much as on the point of religion. The English Reformation began in the action of the Crown, and was carried through by the Crown, the new *noblesse*, the Bishops of Henry VIII., and the more wealthy and prosperous of the middle classes. What new doctrines were adopted came from Lutheranism rather than from any other foreign source, but were chiefly the result of English compromise. A Church was developed which worshipped in the ancient fanes, under the ancient order of Bishops, in the translated words of the ancient service-books, or in others not less beautiful. The assistance of the arts was not always rejected; common prayer was deemed more important than political and doctrinal harangues from the pulpit. Monasticism perished; purgatory, prayer to saints, pilgrimages, ceased to be recognised. There was a Revolution, but a Revolution which left many old things standing, and did not at once destroy all the pleasant popular holidays and practices which the ancient faith had consecrated to Christian use.'

'In Scotland the Reformation began not in the Crown, not immediately from personal and political causes, but from rational criticism developed in the ranks of the gentry, the junior branches of the great families, the Augustinian and Dominican Orders, some of the secular clergy, and the wealthier burgesses. The King could not, as in England, direct and instigate the movement, for had he done so he must have broken with Rome and with France, on which he leaned for support against his loving uncle, Henry VIII. He saw Henry first quarrelling with Rome in the interests of his private love-affairs; then proclaiming the Royal supremacy over the Church; then executing the best and bravest of his subjects, More and Fisher (1535); then robbing the monasteries; then authorising

(as a weapon against Rome) the translation of the Bible ; destroying relics, and melting golden reliquaries ; burning men who read his translated Bible in their own sense ; and, finally, roasting for one sort of heterodoxy, hanging for another, and keeping the executioner at work on his Ministers and his wives. The Protestant programme, as evolved and carried out by Henry VIII., was not a programme which James could have adopted. No Scottish King was ever allowed to bloat into such a monster of tyranny as Henry VIII.'

This candid view of the Reformation will commend itself as sane and sensible to every one save the sectarian bigot. A mild-mannered King like James V. must have felt his soul revolting with horror against a heresy which produced such appalling atrocities, even though he had not been trained to venerate the Church of Rome from his childhood. Froude alone among the historians has striven to make a Protestant Saint of Henry VIII., and he has done so by perverting facts and regarding them with distorted vision. It may have been with a sincere desire to stem the tide of the 'Lutheran heresy,' which seemed inevitably associated with such enormities, that James V. consented to the extreme measures for stamping out this pestilence which his clerical advisers proposed. The contrast between the Tudors and the Stuarts was distinctly shown at this period. The Tudors ever were ruthless, selfish persecutors. Henry VII., despite Bacon's eulogium, was a self-seeking tyrant; Henry VIII. was an 'unspeakable Turk' in public and private life; his daughter Mary showed the taint of heredity by the Smithfield fires, kindled to overthrow the work of her father; and Elizabeth, though the best of the race, slew her faithful servants from feelings of petty spite and jealousy. Fortunately the Tudor strain in the blood of James V. and his hapless daughter, Mary, was not strong enough to poison the stream derived from Stuart sources, though they both suffered in consequence.

The Scottish Reformation, as Mr. Lang points out, came from the opposite pole of the body politic. The pioneers of learning—Elphinstone, Boece, Panter, Archbishop Stewart, and John Major—were all pupils, in a sense, of Erasmus, and were predisposed towards reform within the Church.

The character and qualifications of the leading ecclesiastics, on the other hand, had steadily deteriorated, and noble birth was deemed a better passport to high clerical offices than profound learning or sagacity. The Church was not well administered, and Sir David Lindsay, himself a Roman Catholic, was very outspoken in his complaints of the simony, incompetence, lust, and avarice that were then prevalent. The leaders of the Scottish Reformation had been trained in the democratic city of Geneva, and adopted the stern tenets of Calvin rather than the milder methods of Luther. They appealed to the populace—what Knox afterwards called the 'raskail multitude,' when he found them too strong for him to restrain—and the result was as overwhelming as it was destructive. Precisely as the French Revolution of 1789, which appealed to the unreasoning classes, developed into the Reign of Terror in 1792, so the Scottish Reformation, begun with perfect good faith, brought about the downfall of the Church to which Scotland owed all the civilisation it possessed. It is absurd to suppose that a Pentecostal spirit had miraculously converted the Scottish nation to Protestant principles, and made them earnest iconoclasts, determined to destroy the old Church in defence of truth and rectitude. The plain fact is that the latent devilry of the lower orders was awakened by the opportunities of plunder and devastation; and they neither troubled themselves about the supremacy of the Pope, nor the right of private interpretation, nor the intercession of saints, nor prayers for the dead, nor any one of the countless subjects which were fiercely debated by converted priests and supporters of the old Catholicism. George Buchanan maintained his equilibrium at first in the *bouleversement* that was general among his compeers. His original notion was that the Church, vitiated as it was, might yet be reformed from within, but reasons of State policy led him later to give up this attitude, and he went with the majority. The great figure of the time is John Knox. Mr. Lang's first volume concludes with the assassination of Cardinal Beaton, and Knox comes only incidentally within his purview. But it is clear that,—almost for the first time in Scottish history,—we are to have from the

author a reasonable estimate of the man whom unthinking generations of Protestants have taken as their idol. To the unimpassioned and unsectarian student of history it has always been a puzzle to know why the partisan statements of Knox, written for special political reasons, and full of malversations of fact and perverse imputations of motive, should have been accepted as 'proofs strong as Holy Writ.' There is not in the whole range of literature another instance of a virulent partisan pamphlet such as Knox's so-called *History of the Kirk* being elevated to the position of an authority in matters historical. When Mr. Lang has to deal in his second volume with the story of Queen Mary he will find full confirmation of his low opinion of Knox as a historian. But that as yet, to use the author's favourite phrase, is still 'on the knees of the gods.' The death of Beaton made an epoch in the history of Scotland, and Mr. Lang aptly concludes his first volume thus:—'With David Beaton slain, and with Kuox hurrying forward to assume a power greater than Beaton's, we may say of old Catholic Scotland, as said the dying Cardinal, "Fie, all is gone!"'

Mr. Lang's work may be estimated from two points of view—that of the historian and that of the general reader. The latter will be surprised to find that topics which he has hitherto considered as dry and uninteresting, have been made bright and attractive by a facile literary style, with a pronounced dash of modernity. The student of history will appreciate the fearless attitude taken up by Mr. Lang towards oft-debated points, and will be especially grateful for the light thrown by him upon the obscure origin of the early inhabitants of Scotland. To suppose that a work like this, which in many points runs counter to moss-grown traditions, and which destroys accepted conventionalities, will be at once received with acclamation, is to expect a miracle. But as Wagner wrote his 'music of the future' amid storms of derision and vituperation, calmly confident that it would ultimately prevail, so Mr. Lang may possess his soul in patience, believing that his book will be the 'history of the future,' and will survive when the twentieth century is suffering from senile decay.

A. H. MILLAR.

ART. II.—THE KELMSCOTT PRESS.

A Review and Some Statistics.

FIVE centuries and a half have passed since the discovery of printing by means of movable types: moreover, only a very brief period divides the discovery from the first signs of degeneration—not, of course, from the commercial, but from the aesthetic point of view. As many think, it was left for William Morris late in the nineteenth century again to give dignity and importance to the craft. Cinquecento books are now so rare that relatively few persons come under the spell of pages, as pages, printed thus long ago. Admirable examples are to be found in the British Museum and elsewhere, but in general the study of these is regarded as dull, and visitors pass on to examine other objects, which for them possess more direct appeal. In large part, this explains why so few enter into Morris's feeling when, an Aldus book of about 1490 in his hands, he exclaimed enthusiastically, 'Ah! I wish I could get my books printed like that.' The causes that operated towards the degeneration of printing as an art are not far to seek. Up till the fifteenth century, as is well known, there was but one method of reproducing the words of a document or book: the calligraphist had to be requisitioned on every occasion. The amount of labour expended on a given piece of work was approximately fixed by its nature, and that of the demand. If it was merely a commercial document, copies would be made rapidly, with relatively little regard to appearance. But if, on the other hand, it was a Book of Hours, a Psalter, or some devotional work destined for a king, a church dignitary, or other person of high estate, no amount of care was thought to be ill spent. In a thousand monasteries scattered over Europe, more or less skilled scribes spent their lives in transcription. You have only, for instance, to enter San Marco in Florence, whose every cell bears a simple, devotional little fresco by its long-time inmate and brother, Beato Angelico, passing thence to the library with its hundred open scripts, to understand something of the spirit in which the scribes worked.

Shut off from ordinary affairs, assured of at least the necessities of life, a touch of the stir and bustle in which we of to-day live, would have come to many of them as a welcome diversion. Perhaps a no more significant testimony to the tranquillity of mediæval monastic life is to be found than in these manuscripts, penned with such heed, painted and illuminated, many of them, so beautifully. Three score years and ten might yield a copy of but a single work ; thereafter, years were spent in decorating it with full-page miniatures against golden backgrounds, examples of which cause many collectors of to-day metaphorically to gnash their teeth and break the tenth commandment, until one at any rate is in their library. It is unnecessary to do more than recall that the first development in the direction of more expeditious reproduction is to be found in the Block Book. Here the design of the page having been traced, the characters were cut on wood, afterwards inked by means of the frotton, and damp papers laid on before placing in the hand press. Correction, of course, was difficult, and this difficulty resulted perhaps in the discovery of movable types, the principle upon which all modern printing is based.

The important point to remember is that when the *Mazarin* Bible, now worth about £5,000, and the *Psalter* no less valuable, were issued in the sixth decade of the fifteenth century, they entered into direct competition with the work of the scribes. It would seem that when Fust and Schoeffer issued the so-called *Gutenberg* Bible in 1456 or thereabouts, they desired to preserve secrecy as to the manner in which it was produced ; indeed, it is possible that copies were disposed of as the work of expert scribes. Two objects at any rate they must have kept in mind : one to produce a book comparable at least with a fine manuscript, the other not prematurely to arouse the opposition of that large class who earned perhaps a scanty livelihood by copying. It happens, then, that the *Psalter* issued in 1457, registers in many respects the high water mark of printing as an art. So confident of success were its executants, that they added their name and the date, thus challenging the calligraphists and all interested in the older method. Each character of this bold Gothic fount was carefully designed by the working partner, Fust being the

capitalist. Peter Schoeffer, if credence be given to a Strasburg manuscript penned by him in 1499, had studied at 'the most glorious University of Paris;' and to a fund of invention he added a taste for the beautiful. Produced as it must have been at enormous cost, the undertaking more than likely requiring subsidy, it is not surprising when the conditions of the time are taken into account, that this earliest printed Psalter should stand out in its kind as the most memorable book in the world. The reason why early printed books, in whatever country, remain unexcelled as examples of the craft, is because their merits were measured by a standard which by degrees has altogether disappeared : the standard, I mean, of the exquisitely written page, whose characters, conforming to well-selected types, were traced not on machine-made paper of cotton, but on vellum skins, so smooth to the touch, so attractive to the eye of the connoisseur.

Many persons ascribe the foundation of the Kelmscott Press solely to William Morris's so called mediævalism ; but the fact that things ancient exercised a fascination over him in no way suffices to explain this project, by whose achievement, above all else it may be, he will hereafter be remembered. Rather it was, to use his own words, because 'I have always been a great admirer of the caligraphy of the middle ages and of the earlier printing which took its place. As to the fifteenth century books, I had noticed that they were always beautiful by force of the mere typography, even without the added ornament, with which many of them are so lavishly supplied. And it was the essence of my undertaking to produce books which it would be a pleasure to look upon as pieces of printing and arrangement of type.' To-day, few voices will be raised in protest against the assertion that the fifty-two works issued from the little house in Hammersmith, now turned into a granary, form one of the most remarkable contributions, not alone to the printing, but to the craftsmanship in general of the nineteenth century. Onward from the time when Morris was a fellow-student with Burne-Jones at Oxford, he delighted to turn over the pages of old manuscripts. Mr. F. S. Ellis tells how in his enthusiastic, simple-hearted way Morris was wont to recall hours passed in the Bodleian, where a special favourite was a fine *Apocalypse* dating

from the thirteenth century. Over and again those who knew him prior to the eighties, listened to incisive, maybe exaggerated, criticisms of the then-accepted methods of printing. So far from affording him pleasure, there is little doubt that the issue, through channels over which he had but limited control, of his own writings, in large part was mixed with pain—at best they were reasonably well printed, and that went for little with a man possessed of an overwhelming desire for excellence. Although as early as 1866, a special edition of the *Earthly Paradise* with illustrations, by Sir Edward Burne-Jones, and type designed by Morris was projected, the thousand difficulties incident to becoming his own printer operated effectively for years. For one thing, his many-sided activity left scant leisure to devote to the scheme. If not in the way that William Morris hoped, i.e., in the immediate reconstitution of society on a more satisfactory basis, his series of political speeches, delivered in many of the great towns of England, had as indirect outcome, perhaps, the fulfilment of his dream as a printer. During frequent absences from London, the conduct of 'Morris & Co.'s' well-known business devolved upon two men whose qualities were admirably fitted to the work. Responsibility in this direction lessened, many hitherto existing obstacles to the long wished-for founding of the Press were removed. Throughout his life Morris was a sceptic as to the worth of knowledge gathered other than at first hand. For this reason, among others, he began in earnest to bring together that fine assemblage of MSS. and early printed books, whose dispersal at Messrs. Sotheby's ranked as one of the chief events of 1898. Once before he had acquired some valuable and historically interesting examples by monastic scribes and early printers, which, much to his after regret, he disposed of before the idea of becoming his own printer had taken definite shape. Those who examined the Morris books will recall how indicative of swift insight, of loving and prolonged examination, were his pencilled comments on many a margin or title page. Every example by an early printer was acquired with the direct object of studying typography.

William Morris himself has put it on record that the problem, as it presented itself to him, of building up a book of beautiful

pages, was a four-sided one: 'the paper, the form of the type, the relative spacing of the letters, the words, and the lines; and lastly, the position of the printed matter on the page.' There are few men at the end of the nineteenth century who share in anything like equal degree Morris's dislike of and distrust in machinery, particularly as applied to the crafts. Even had it been otherwise, durability and appearance alike would have dictated the choice of a hand-made paper. Furthermore, he determined—and in this as in all other matters, considerations of cost were not allowed to interfere—that the paper should be wholly of linen, hard and well-sized; that it should be 'laid' and not 'wove,' the lines caused by the wires of the mould not to be so strong as to give a ribbed appearance. As confirming his own conclusions, independently reached, Morris found that on these points he was in agreement with the paper makers of the fifteenth century; hence he took as model a Bolognese paper of about 1473. As to type, it was rather by instinct than as the result of thought, Morris tells us, that he began by designing a fount of Roman characters. Before starting to design on his own account, he caused parts of the *Pliny* printed by Jenson in 1476, and of Arezzo's *History of Florence*, issued in the same year by Jacobus Rubeus, to be enlarged by photography, in order the more clearly to bring out their salient features. Not till he had traced each one of their characters over and over, thus mastering and becoming familiar with their every line, did he set out to make the eighty-one designs which go to form the now famous Golden Type, so called because the *Golden Legend* was to have been the first book printed therewith at the Kelmscott Press. The Gothic fount came later. Next as to spacing. In order to avoid white spaces between the letters, so large as to mar the unity of effect, Morris decided that the 'face' of the letter should be as nearly as possible conterminous with the 'body'; and that the lateral spaces between the words should suffice only to make a clear division, and should be approximately equal—modern printers, he noted, paid little or no heed to these essential points. 'Leads' he used sparingly, to avoid undue width of white between the lines, limiting himself, indeed, to a thin lead in the case of the pica Gothic, to a hair lead in the case of the

double-column *Chaucer*, and in the 16mo. books, dispensing altogether with leads. Perhaps, however, Morris regarded the position of matter on the page as the most important question in this kind. The inner margin, he affirmed, should invariably be the narrowest, the top somewhat wider, the outside again wider, and the bottom widest of all. In this respect, of course, he found himself at variance with modern practice, which tended to take a single page instead of the two pages, when opened, as the true unit. On the other hand, examination of works by mediæval printers is said to show that they observed a difference of 20 per cent. as between the narrowest inner margin and the deepest margin at the bottom. Of three Kelmscott books before me as I write, the respective measurements may be given in this connection :—

Inner Margins (effect when bound)	Inches.			
	Top Margin inches.	Outer Sides inches.	Bottom Margin inches.	
<i>News from Nowhere</i> , -	$\frac{7}{8}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	$1\frac{1}{8}$
<i>Chaucer</i> , -	1	$1\frac{1}{8}$	$2\frac{1}{4}$	4
<i>Aims of the Press</i> , -	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{9}{16}$	$1\frac{1}{8}$	$1\frac{1}{8}$

Doubtless, an examination of the entire series would give approximately the same result.

Ink plays a by no means unimportant part in the power of a page to delight the eye. Although Morris often spoke of making his own ink, this intention was never fulfilled. After many trials, he finally adopted an ink from Hanover, whose uniform blackness can hardly be surpassed. By general consent, the Edinburgh edition of Stevenson, now worth more than double its issue price, is, as a book, one of the best produced in this century; while special attention has been paid to every detail of the *éditions de luxe* of Mr. George Meredith and Mr. Rudyard Kipling. If, however, these books be compared with those issued from the Kelmscott Press, the ink looks relatively grey, it lacks the strength of that used by Morris. The founder had, too, his own ideas as to vellum. The six copies of the *Glittering Plain* of 1891, and two or three of *Poems by the Way* are printed on very fine vellum bought in Rome, of which, however, it was impossible to get more, every skin being required by the Vatican.

For binding purposes, Morris himself preferred to the pure white surface those skins which show the hair marks ; hence many of his own copies are thus distinguished. In a word, every minute detail came under his personal consideration, even, for instance, to the red, blue, yellow, and green silk ties, which were specially woven and dyed. Apart, then, from the type and the decoration, Kelmscott books claim attention by virtue of what Mr. Ruskin might have called their righteousness. It will be long, probably, ere inclination and opportunity again concur in the case of a man so gifted as Morris, and without this conjunction a second Kelmscott Press is impossible. He was unhampered by questions of expense ; he dared to put in practice his own theories of producing books as perfect in every way as he could make them.

As has been said, Morris had an idea of issuing a special edition of the *Earthly Paradise*, to be illustrated by his friend, Sir Edward Burne-Jones, as early as 1866. Many designs, indeed, were executed, and 44 of these for 'Cupid and Psyche' engraved on wood. Specimen pages were set up, moreover, in Caslon type. Later, the idea of an illustrated edition of *Love is Enough* took shape, marginal ornaments being designed. But neither of these plans reached fruition. Visitors to the exhibition of the Arts and Crafts Society, held in the autumn of 1888, may recall Mr. Emery Walker's preface to the catalogue on the subject of printed books. William Morris shared his views, and as the outcome of many conversations *The House of the Wolfings* was printed at the Chiswick Press, with special type modelled on an old Basle fount, the same, by the way, that had been used earlier for the trial pages of *The Earthly Paradise*. In 1889 *The Roots of the Mountains* was similarly printed, a volume that its author at the time declared to be 'the best looking book issued since the seventeenth century.' Immediately after its appearance Morris set to work, in the way already alluded to, to design a fount of his own. He was anxious that Mr. Emery Walker should join him as partner in the printing business, and although formally this never became an accomplished fact, his advice and guidance were sought on every important point during the whole life of the Press. The Roman or Golden fount, modelled on the characters employed by Nicholas Jenson, 1470-6, completed, Morris

felt the want of a Gothic series. In the designing of this Troy type, which he preferred to either of the others, he was influenced primarily by that of Schoeffer, and by those of Mentelin of Strasburg and Zainer of Augsburg. These types, said Morris, 'avoided the spiky ends and undue compression which lay some of the later type open' to a charge of unreadableness; 'only the earlier printers (naturally following therein the practice of their predecessors, the scribes), were very liberal of contractions, and used an excess of 'tied' letters, which, by the way, are very useful to the compositor.' The designer's paramount aim was to make this Great Primer Gothic as easy to read as his Roman type of English size, by this time generally admired. Still later, the greatest of all his fulfilled projects, the double-column *Chaucer*, necessitated a pica Gothic, known as the Chaucer, which differs only from the Troy in point of size. In addition, no less than 384 initial letters, including 34 T's, and 57 different borders, were designed, and most of them engraved and used.

Without counting the two trial pages on vellum of Lord Berners' translation of Froissart's *Chronicles*—a projected work in two volumes folio which would probably have eclipsed the *Chaucer* in ornamentation and general importance—fifty-two works in sixty-six volumes were printed and issued at the Kelmscott Press. Initially, one hand press only was used for the books, but in November, 1891, a second was bought, and early in 1895 a third, specially adapted for printing the *Chaucer*. A trial page of the first book, *The Story of the Glittering Plain*, was pulled on January 1st, 1891—in May a copy of this page sold for £26 10s.—and the first sheet printed about a month later. The volume is dated April 4th, and was issued on May 8th, 1891. Full particulars as to type, number of copies, issue price, etc., will be found in the table appended, but it may here be noted that this is the only Kelmscott book with wash-leather ties, and that four of the vellum copies were specially bound in green vellum, three of these being given by William Morris to his friends. The text of *The Glittering Plain*, with but small variations, was first printed in the *English Illustrated Magazine*. In *Poems by the Way—Flores Atramenti* was the title originally in-

tended by the author—two colours of ink, red and black, are for the first time used; and there are in existence a few copies whose vellum covers were stained at Merton, red, yellow, indigo, and dark green, this experiment, however, not proving successful. Only two of the thirteen examples of *Poems by the Way* printed on vellum are on that procured from Rome. The third Kelmscott Press book, Mr. Wilfred Scawen Blunt's *Poems*, is the only one whose initials are printed in red, this at the author's express wish. The fourth volume is a reprint from the *Stones of Venice*, with a preface by Morris, of whom Ruskin said 'Morris is beaten gold.' Some peculiarity or point of special interest attaches to almost each work issued; a few only, however, can be alluded to here. The first four books were bound in stiff vellum, and in the fifth, *The Defence of Guenevere*, limp vellum was for the first time used. This book, again, is the only one whose title is inscribed on the back by hand. *The Golden Legend*, set up from a transcript of Caxton's first edition in the possession of the University of Cambridge, was to have introduced the press to the public, indeed fifteen pages were in type by May, 1891; but the size of the paper, at first bought in sheets 16 in. by 11 in., was found to be too small, and there was unforeseen delay in procuring the larger paper. This *Golden Legend* contains the first woodcut title designed by Morris. The Troy type appears for the first time in *The Recuyell*, issued on November 24th, 1892. About this re-issue of the first book printed in English, William Morris, with whom it was a great favourite, wrote for Mr. Quaritch's catalogue:—'As to the matter of the book it makes a thoroughly amusing story, instinct with mediæval thought and manners. For though written at the end of the middle ages and dealing with classical mythology, it has in it no token of the coming Renaissance, but is purely mediæval.' The smaller Gothic, or Chaucer type was used for the table of chapters and the glossary, and Morris designed many initials and ornaments for the work. The *Biblia Innocentium* was the last book issued with untrimmed edges, the first printed in 8vo. The next issue was Caxton's *History of Reyn*.

nard the Fox, taken from the edition of 1481—‘one of the very best of his works as to style,’ remarked Morris, and ‘being translated from a kindred tongue is delightful as mere language.’ As frontispiece to *News from Nowhere*, we have a view of Morris’ Thames-side home, the old manor house of Kelmscott, just such a home, he told a friend, as, before its acquisition, he had seen in dream. *The Order of Chivalry* marks the first use of the Chaucer type for the body of the text, and in *The History of Godfrey of Boloyne* we come upon the fifth and last of the Caxton reprints. It is, too, the first work published and sold at the Kelmscott Press, its forerunners having been disposed of by Messrs. Reeves and Turner, George Allen, or Bernard Quaritch. William Morris’ lecture on *Gothic Architecture*, set up at Hammersmith, was printed at the New Gallery during the progress of the Arts and Crafts Exhibition in the autumn of 1893. It was the first 16mo book, and was twice reprinted at the Exhibition. Some 85 copies of *King Florus*, translated from the French by Morris, were bought by Messrs. Tregaskis to be bound in various parts of the world. This interesting collection was exhibited recently at the opening of the Rylands Library, Manchester. The *Psalmi Penitentiales* are taken from a MS. Book of Hours, penned at Gloucester early in the 15th century; according to Professor Skeat, it being probably a copy of a still older MS. Much might be said about the *Chaucer*, but it must suffice to mention that the original intention was to issue 325 copies with 60 woodcuts designed by Burne-Jones; three months later it was determined to add to the number of illustrations and cover the cost by printing a hundred extra copies of the book. In effect we have eighty-seven Burne-Jones illustrations, instead of ‘about sixty,’ as originally promised. The first of the fourteen borders was begun by Morris on February 1st, 1892; three days later the vine border for the initial page was commenced, this being finished in a week. Not, however, until the end of February, 1896, did Morris complete his designs, the last being the title page. The *Chaucer*, in addition to the eighty-seven illustrations designed by Burne-Jones and engraved by W. H. Hooper, has

the woodcut title, fourteen large borders, eighteen different frames for illustrations, and twenty-six large initial words especially designed by Morris. In the accompanying table it will be noted how frequently the founder of the press's name occurs as author or translator, and the works that he translated are hardly less indicative of his general outlook than are those he wrote. Had Morris' life not been cut short, Mr. Cockerell, to whose interesting bibliography I am indebted for a hundred particulars, tells us that we should have had Kelmscott volumes embracing the *Tragedies*, *Histories*, and *Comedies* of Shakespeare; Caxton's *Vitae Patrum*; the *Poems* of Mr. Watts-Dunton; a catalogue of the woodcut and early printed books and MSS. at Kelmscott House; and possibly other works, including the Bible.

There was for long grave doubt as to whether an enterprise involving so much money-expenditure, to say nothing of Morris' own time and talent, would prove a commercial success. A demand for books well printed on excellent paper had almost to be created; and many regarded the project as hopeless. But work after work was fully subscribed, with increasing alacrity, too, as time went on, and the Kelmscott Press became more widely known. In this connection one amusing incident may be related. Messrs. Macmillan, who published Tennyson's *Maud*, were somewhat disappointed with the sale of the five hundred copies, the price to the public of which was two guineas. Hence, to their after regret, they announced to the trade that some 200 copies, I think, would be sold as a 'remainder.' On the morning after the issue of the notice one enthusiast stationed himself at the firm's door at 6 A.M., there to wait patiently until the opening hour. By noon not a single copy, at anyrate at the 'remainder' price, was procurable. The joke against Mr. Macmillan will not soon be allowed to drop. Even commercially the Kelmscott Press proved a satisfactory undertaking, for the absorption by the public, during a period of some seven years, of 18,234 copies of 53 works, representing an aggregate sum of about £50,600—nearly £3 a volume—is a pre-eminently note-worthy achievement, which would have been deemed impossible even

Con. No.	TITLE.	Author, Translator, or Adapter.	Size.	Type.	Binding.	Publ.
1	The Story of the Glittering Plain...	Wm. Morris	Small 4to	Golden	Stiff Vellum	Reeves &
2	Poems by the Way	"	"	"	"	"
3	Love Lyrics and Songs of Proteus	W. S. Blunt	"	"	"	"
4	The Nature of Gothic	John Ruskin	"	"	"	George A.
5	The Defence of Guenevere.....	Wm. Morris	"	"	Limp Vellum	Reeves &
6	Dream of John Ball.....	"	"	"	"	"
7	The Golden Legend.....	Wm. Caxton, T.	Large 4to	"	Half Holland	Bernard
8	Recuyell of Historyes of Troye.....	"	"	Troy	Limp Vellum	"
9	Biblia Innocentium	J. W. Mackail, Adp.	8vo	Golden	Stiff Vellum	Reeves &
10	History of Reynard the Foxe	Wm. Caxton	Large 4to	Troy	Limp Vellum	Bernard
11	Poems	Shakespeare	8vo	Golden	"	Reeves &
12	News from Nowhere	Wm. Morris	8vo	"	"	"
13	The Order of Chivalry	Wm. Caxton, T.	Small 4to	Chaucer	"	"
14	Life of Thomas Wolsey	G. Cavendish	8vo	Golden	"	"
15	History of Godefrey of Boloyne ...	Wm. Caxton	Large 4to	Troy	"	Wm. M.
16	Utopia	Sir T. More	8vo	Chaucer	"	Reeves &
17	Maud	Lord Tennyson	8vo	Golden	"	Macmillan
18	Gothic Architecture.....	Wm. Morris	16mo	"	Half Holland	"
19	Sidonia the Sorceress	Lady Wilde, T.	Large 4to	"	Limp Vellum	Wm. M.
20	Ballads and Poems	D. G. Rossetti	8vo	"	"	"
20a	Sonnets and Lyrical Poems	"	"	"	"	Ellis &
21	King Florus and the Fair Jehane...	Wm. Morris, T.	16mo	Chaucer	Half Holland	Wm. M.
22	Story of the Glittering Plain.....	"	Large 4to	Troy	Limp Vellum	"
23	Amis and Amile.....	"	16mo	Chaucer	Half Holland	"
24	Poems	John Keats	8vo	Golden	Limp Vellum	"
25	Atalanta in Calydon	A. C. Swinburne	Large 4to	Troy	"	"
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41d	"	"	"	"	"	"
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by Morris himself in the initial stages of the enterprise. For it must be remembered that, while connoisseurs are ever ready to pay considerable sums for examples of ancient typography, relatively few were prepared to give what was at first regarded as the excessive sum per volume demanded for Kelmscotts.

Undeniably the short life of the Press, and the fact that its founts, now in the hands of Morris' trustees, can no longer be used save for special editions of his own writings, operated in favour of higher prices. As a fact, the wonderful appreciation in these books stands out as a feature of the 1899 auctions. The little *Biblia Innocentium* heads the list of increases, being now valued at almost twenty-seven times its issue price; Keats' *Poems*, originally to be procured for 30s., sell for £27; the 1891 *Glittering Plain* has made as much as £33 10s., although published at £2 2s.; and other hardly less striking examples might be cited. Perhaps, indeed, the fact that a high-priced book like the *Chaucer* is valued at more than thrice its first cost, £69 instead of £20, is the most significant testimony of all. If the unpriced Savonarola letter be estimated at £1 10s., and the magnificent Froissart pages, 160 copies on vellum only of which were printed, be included, the aggregate original cost of a set of Kelmscotts on paper was £144 14s. 6d. In March of this year the complete series realised £560 14s. 6d.

These extraordinary advances have been established, it must be remembered, in spite of no less than ten complete sets, not to count several hundred odd volumes, having passed through the London auction rooms during the past eighteen months. For the most part the purchases have been made by dealers, and hence the public is called to pay even higher sums.

As to whether these books will see a still further advance there is, of course, difference of opinion. On the one hand we have to remember that there is a small likelihood of books equally excellent being issued in the near future, that there is said to be a growing demand in America, and that the copies available for sale hereafter will almost certainly be markedly

fewer than those which have recently come under the hammer. Contrarily, one has to discount the force of a perhaps temporary vogue, and to estimate the permanent influence of William Morris as a printer. The appended table gives full particulars, in order of issue, not, as will be remarked, in that of date, of each work printed at the Kelmscott Press; and it is hoped that this will prove useful alike for reference purposes, and to the collector who desires full information before determining on special purchases. The final column gives the record price paid at auction for each work up to June 1900.

ART. III.—SIR WALTER SCOTT AND THE BLAIR ADAM ANTIQUARIAN CLUB (1817-31).*

A FEW miles to the west of Loch Leven, the scene of Sir Walter Scott's *Abbot*, lies the mansion house of Blair Adam. In the summer of 1817 the Lord Chief Commissioner Adam of Blair Adam, invited Sir Walter Scott, who does not appear before this time to have been intimately acquainted with the district, to spend a few days with him at Blair Adam House. Along with Scott were also included in the invitation two of his most congenial friends, Sir Adam Ferguson and Mr. W. Clark, son of Mr. Clark of Eildon, author of a well known essay on Naval Tactics, which first taught the practice of the manœuvre of breaking the line on decided and defined principles. The little holiday party, we need scarcely say, spent a very pleasant time with their accomplished host and his son Rear-Admiral Adam—the first Sir Charles Adam.

They strolled through the Blair Adam garden and pleasure grounds—through the woods and groves. These had been

* The writer desires to express his obligations to Sir Charles E. Adam, Baronet, Blair Adam, for kindly placing at his disposal for consultation the Family Records of the Blair Adam Club.

laid out on the system of Shenston's Leasowes—the model after which Sir Walter Scott was then beautifying the policies of Abbotsford. In a quiet social hour, and in the heart of this scene of enchantment where the eye rested now on the gleaming surface of Lochleven and anon on the rugged basaltic brow of Benarty, with its historic pass winding round its base, Lord Adam entertained his distinguished visitor with a graphic description of the antiquarian and historic surroundings of Blair Adam. We narrate the incident in his Lordship's own words: 'I at this time told Sir Walter how singularly the place was environed with castles of great antiquity—many of them connected with historic matter of the highest concernment. That there were besides other objects of great beauty, curiosity and interest, all of them (even the most distant) within the reach of being thoroughly seen between breakfast and the evening—so that with a basket well supplied with cold meat and some bottles of good wine, we could explore the recesses of Castle Campbell (I believe the most distant), enjoy our refreshment, and return before the night set in. The places which I enumerated, beginning at the nearest, was my own little castle of Dewhill. To the west were the castles of Cleish, Aldie, Tullibole, Castle Campbell, the scenery of the Cauldron Linn and the Rumbling Bridge. To the north I mentioned the Castle of Balfour, Burleigh, and the Castle of Balvaird, the original seat of the Stormont family.

'I represented that on the east side is the royal palace of Falkland, and also of Leslie, with its superb trees and its ancient beautiful terraces, on the banks of the river Leven, and Christ Kirk on the Green, rendered illustrious by a royal poet. That, travelling westward, there were the Castles of Strathendric and of Arnot, and the ruined castle of drained Lochore, between the Lake and Blair Adam, was the Castra Stativa Agricolæ still to be traced. To the south was Dunfermline, where Bruce is buried, and James IV. drank 'the bluid red wine.'

'Last but not least was Loch Leven Castle, seen at every turn from the northern side of Blair Adam.'

This castle as well as its neighbourhood was ere long to be

invested with a new halo of romance on the publication of *The Abbot* in 1820.

The subject now introduced to his notice must have been congenial in no ordinary degree to the author of *The Antiquary* and the redactor of the *Border Minstrelsy*. Scott's mind has been compared by Lockhart to one of those antique Gothic fabrics with its rich imagery and tracery, half seen in the clear day light, and half by rays tinged with the blazoned forms of the past.

We do not wonder that we should be told that Scott was at once fascinated—and that the talk which ensued generated the idea of the formation of the Blair Adam Antiquarian Club. The scheme was—as follows. The select party then at Blair Adam were to be the members, with a few names of special friends to be added to the number.

They agreed to visit Blair Adam annually, arriving on the Friday in time for dinner, and leaving again for their duties in Edinburgh on the following Tuesday morning. This gave them two free days for their antiquarian excursions and explorations. On Sundays, besides going to the Parish Church of Cleish, they could ramble about the policies or stroll together to the wooded slopes of Benarty.

The time of the year chosen for these happy reunions was the summer solstice, when the days were brightest and longest.

The first visit of Scott to Blair Adam was not destined to pass without an incident of historic interest to the readers of the *Waverley Novels*. Their author was then the Great Unknown. Only three of these immortal works, *Waverley*, *Guy Mannering*, and *The Antiquary*, had as yet been published. It was early on Tuesday morning, the Lord Chief Commissioner and Sir Walter were hurrying back to Edinburgh so as to reach the Court before nine o'clock. They had reached Queensferry. It was a delightful daybreak and the waters of the Firth were as smooth as glass. The two travellers baited for a short space at Hawes' Inn, waiting the arrival of their companions. 'An occurrence then took place,' says Lord Adam, 'which left little doubt on my mind that Scott was the author of *The Anti-*

quary, *Guy Mannering*, and *Waverley*, his only novels then published. Sir Walter Scott and I were standing on the beach enjoying the prospect. The porpoises on the beach were rising in great numbers when Sir Walter said to me, "Look at them, how they are shewing themselves. What fine fellows they are! I have the greatest respect for them. I would as soon kill a man as a phoca." I could not conceive that the same idea could occur to two men respecting this animal, and inferred that it could only be Sir Walter who made the phoca have the better of the battle with the Antiquary's nephew, Captain M'Intyre.' His Lordship saw other indications of Scott's authorship of *Rob Roy*, which was published the following autumn. 'But what, he says, 'confirmed me and was meant to disclose to me the author (and that in a very elegant manner) was the mention of Kiery Craigs, a picturesque piece of scenery in the grounds of Blair Adam, as being in the vicinity of the Kelty Bridge, the howf of Auchtermuchty, the Kinross carrier. At our first meeting after the publication of *The Abbot*, when the party was assembled on the top of the rock, the Chief Baron Shepherd, looking Sir Walter full in the face, and stamping his staff on the ground, said, "Now, Sir Walter, I think, we be on the top of the Kiery Craggs." Sir Walter preserved a profound silence, but there was a conscious looking down and a considerable elongation of the upper lip.'

The members of the Blair Adam Club thus happily inaugurated were:—The Lord Chief Commissioner Adam, Sir Charles Adam, Sir Walter Scott, Sir Adam Ferguson, Sir William Clark, Chief Baron Shepherd, Mr. Thomas Thomson (advocate), Rev. John Thomson (Duddingston), Mr. Anstruther Thomson Charleton (Lord Adam's son-in-law). The constituent members of the Blair Adam Club were thus nine—the number of the Muses—all told. But there were from time to time distinguished visitors such as Lord Abercromby, Lord Sydney Osborne, and Count Fl'ahault. To these fall to be added the names of some Kinross-shire squires who received the honour of an invitation to the Club dinner. The ladies of the respective families of the members were included in the social circle

to grace the symposia, and to join when they chose in the exploratory rambles.

It is not necessary that we should, within our narrow limits, discuss in detail the membership of this group of Scottish Antiquaries, with its variety of talent and social qualities. One only we must individualize in consistency with our design —the one man of it, along with the members of the Blair Adam family, whose name and fame, and even personal appearance, are deeply fixed to this day in the memories or imaginations of the surviving ancients of the district. Few, if any, can be alive who saw Scott in his rambles through the Blair Adam policies. The writer has spoken to a few of these, and well remembers one very aged dame who had often met the great man sauntering along the grounds seemingly not at the time in robust health. This must have been at the stage when declining strength obliged him to forego his more ambitious expeditions to the old castles, as it latterly constrained him to sever his connection with this loving fraternity.

So devoted was Scott to the amenities of club life at Blair Adam that during the entire period from 1817 to 1831, when his health failed, he never missed a single meeting.

The first of the Club excursions was in 1818, and its destination was Castle Campbell. This was a spot altogether to Sir Walter's mind. Among other associations, it was the scene of mortal feud between the Campbells and the Gordons, and of the devotion of the daughter of the house of Argyll, whose fate, at the burning of the Castle, is still commemorated in the old ballad:—

‘ They rowed her in twa bonnie white sheets,
And tow'd her o'er the wa',
An' aye o' the Yerl o' Gordon's men
Keppit her on a spear sae sma'.
They separated her head frae her bodye,
Wi' tails o' yellow hair,
An' they threwh it up to her mither again ;
But O, her heart was sair.’

Scott, with a few of the more adventurous members, descended into the dungeon of the Castle, and brought back the re-

port to their more cautious companions, in which, of course, they all agreed that it was well worth the labour and hazard. The day closed with a collation of great amusement at Rumbling Bridge Inn, where they were joined by the ladies.

Dunfermline and Cleish Castle were then visited in turn.

One of the most enjoyable of all these yearly excursions was that to Macduff's Cross, near Newburgh, in which Sir Walter Scott took a special interest, and which he had planned the preceding year.

This involved a journey of eighteen miles. In the course of it one of the two conveyances broke down under its weight of antiquarian lore, near the picturesque village of Damhead. They applied to the Damhead blacksmith for the necessary repairs, and it is noted as a fact worthy of record in their annals that the smith and his family were at morning prayers, and, like devout Christians, would not be disturbed till they were over.

Passing through the picturesque scenery of Glenfarg they had a sumptuous, overflowing breakfast at the residence of Mr. Murray of Ayton. Indeed, wherever we get a glimpse of the commissariat, we witness an abundance and joviality which reminds the reader of the Waverley Novels of Scott's own princely hospitality to all his progeny of *bona fide* travellers, good, bad, and indifferent.

Personally, Scott was free from the contagion of the drinking habits of his time. He was won't to say that he was devoutly grateful to the providence that had saved him from becoming the victim of intemperance. It was a frequent counsel of his to his young friends and acquaintances, 'Depend upon it, of all vices drinking is the most incompatible with greatness.' In the *Abbot*, it will be remembered, he makes Adam Woodstock thus counsel Roland Græme: 'Thirdly and to conclude, as our worthy preacher says—Beware of the pottle pot, it has drenched the judgment of wiser men than you.'

The programme of that eventful day of the Damhead disaster, with its sidelight on the bygone habits of our Scottish peasantry, included the inspection of the Tower at

Abernethy (similar to that at Brechin), Macduff's Cross, and the Loch of Lindores. The principal attraction was Macduff's Cross or Stone. The result of their discoveries is given in the words of Sir Adam Ferguson, one of the exploring party:—

'The members now, in the course of their antiquarian progress, reached the village of Newburgh, on the banks of the Tay, being then in search of the large stone called Macduff's Cross, in which, according to tradition, the standard of that great warrior and chieftain used to be placed as an alarm post or place of rallying for his followers in arms. A member (Sir Adam Ferguson) who, Sancho Panza like, was thinking more of the excellent repast which awaited him and his brother members (the same being ambulatory along with him), began making some enquiries of a youth touching the *locale* of the Cross, heartily wishing it, all the time, "half o'er to Aberdour in fifty fathoms deep," when the renowned author of *Waverley* stepped up and scouted the idea of Sir Adam expecting to get any information from a foolish boy. At the same time a very old and infirm man, leaning on his staff, was seen approaching the party; when Sir Walter, assuming a particularly knowing air, with his right hand in his waistcoat pocket, which had commenced the pursuit of a sixpenny piece, addressing himself to Sir Adam, said—"Permit me to know how to get at the springs of antiquarian knowledge. I will suck the brains of this ancient inhabitant of the place." So, with the sixpence secured between the forefinger and the thumb of his right hand, he demanded of the aged person if he knew anything of the Macduff Cross. The old man, keeping his eye steadily on Sir Walter's hand *en ponche*, said he could tell him a' about it. On this Sir Walter put the sixpence into his hand, which it no sooner reached than the old man sprang up into the air, like a youth of sixteen, and, twirling his staff round his head, commenced, in a most violent manner, a wild jargon of song, and nothing else could be got out of him. In fact, he turned out to be a vagrant idiot passing through the village, where his small degree of intellect had been rendered still less by a copious inhibition of alcohol, to use a technical medical phrase, and biding no longer question, danced back to the dram shop, as might be expected. Sir Walter's mortification at this incident,' adds Sir Adam, 'might be conceived, though it could not be well described.'

There was one spot which was often in their thoughts, and often the subject of their convivial talk, and which must have awakened no ordinary interest in the mind of Scott, now busy with the composition of *The Abbot*, the chief scenes of which lay before him every time he turned his eye towards Loch-

leven, the Vale of Kinross, and Benarty. This enchanted spot, we need hardly say, was Lochleven Castle.

Soon after the publication of *The Abbot*, but while Scott was still the Great Unknown, the Club spent a pleasant and quiet day on the Castle island. They talked about Mary, her apartments in the Castle, her escape and landing place, while Scott joined with a demure face in all their discussions and conjectures.

From the Castle island they proceeded to Burleigh Castle, inspecting its singularly interesting tower, the lower part of which is a circle and the upper part a regular square building. Here Scott selected some relics, and had them afterwards conveyed to Abbotsford. On this occasion they secured some capital Lochleven trout, and carried them home for dinner.

Sometimes the excursion took a wider range, and on one occasion the Club paid a memorable visit to Magus Moor—the scene of the murder of Archbishop Sharp—and to St. Andrews, where Patrick Hamilton, George Wishart, and other of our Scots worthies perished. Sir Walter, still the Great Unknown, discussed the history of these places and events with great freedom and energy. Other localities of Covenanting memories were visited in this neighbourhood, viz., the Church of St. Monan's, erected by David II. to fulfil a vow which he had made on his life being saved at the battle of Durham. They visited, also, a hiding place of the Covenanters east of Ely House, and also Macduff's cave, where he concealed himself until his escape from Macbeth across the Firth of Forth.

Sometime after the avowal of the authorship of the Waverley Novels, and the publication of *The Fair Maid of Perth*, 'the demure and solemn Club,' as Lord Adam playfully designates it, undertook an expedition to Falkland Palace, and other centres of interest over which the Wizard of the North was now throwing his magic spell. Scott talked freely of all the topics suggested by these visits.

Among the last of the Club excursions was one to Culross Abbey, where they were hospitably entertained by the proprietor, Sir Robert Preston, then in his ninetieth year. There

was a second visit to Castle Campbell, in which Scott, as usual, was the life of the jovial party, though the burden of bodily and other troubles was now beginning to press heavily upon him.

Such was the general character of the movements and exploits of the Blair Adam Antiquarian Club, the record of whose ongoing is preserved in the too brief review from the facile pen of the Lord Chief Commissioner. Had a full record of its convivial gatherings, as well as its antiquarian transactions, been kept by the same competent hand, we should have had another volume of club life fit to take its place beside the famous *Noctes Ambrosianæ*, with this distinction that the Blair Adam Innocents were not so much the children of the night as of the day.

Towards the close of their gatherings, in the 'lang, lang days o' simmer,' the circle would form under some shady tree, like the classic swains of Virgil of the olden time, and, drawing inspiration from earth and air and sky, launch forth on a recital of past years. Such a social convivium—we had almost said conventicle—was a not unfit ending to the reunions of these joyous years.

The members of the Club were now none of them young, but there was, of course, a junior and a senior division, and the potent, grave, and reverend seigniors did not refuse to take their share in the common recital and confessional of the escapades of earlier days. 'Shepherd and I,' says his Lordship, the Chief Commissioner, 'could tell of our circuit fooleries, as old Fielding (the son of the great novelist) called them—of circuit songs which Will Fielding made and sung, and of the grave Sir W. Grant—then a briefless barrister and bearing his part in these fooleries—enjoying our pranks with great zest, and who talked of them with delight to his dying day.'

Upon such a scene it is fitting that the curtain should now fall.

Scott had for some time been suffering from failing health, wearing out his life in the heroic effort to repair the great financial disaster which crushed so many of his hopes of the future.

He was about to set out on a journey to other lands in search of renewed health—unhappily a vain search. Before he left he

presented Lord Adam with a magnificent key of great size, which, he said, had been given him as the key of Mary's apartments in Lochleven Castle. As to his own personal belief in the bona-fide character of the relic, Scott said that if it was not the key it certainly deserved to be so from its elegance, strength, and structure.

The Lord Chief Commissioner closes his deeply interesting sketch with a reference to the characteristic harmony which pervaded all their intercourse.

There was no grim dictator with his 'Why, Sir,' and 'What then, Sir,' his 'No, Sir,' and 'You don't see your way through the question, Sir.' 'The topics,' says his Lordship, 'were multifarious, and the opinions of course various; but during the whole time of our intercourse for thirteen years there never was the least tendency to unruly debate, nor to anything that deviated from the pure delight of social intercourse.'

W. STEPHEN.

ART. IV.—YIDDISH LITERATURE.

The History of Yiddish Literature in the Nineteenth Century.
By LEO WIENER. London: John C. Nimmo. 1899.

YIDDISH Literature is not a subject about which, in this country at least, much has been written, or about which much is generally known. To the ordinary reader the term 'Yiddish' is somewhat of a puzzle, though it is the term used to designate a language, or rather a jargon, which is spoken at the present moment by some five or six millions of people. Their literature is not a great literature like that of England, France, Italy, or Greece; still it is varied and living, and not without points of interest both on account of its contents and because of the people to whom it is addressed and for whose thoughts and aspirations it forms the literary medium of expression. Unlike most literatures, it can lay no claim to a

great antiquity. The sixteenth century is the furthest point to which it can go back. Since then, however, it has grown and flourished, and suffered an almost total eclipse. At the present moment it is passing through a vigorous renaissance which promises to outlive the political conditions to which it owes its origin, if it does not itself acquire a much more enduring life.

It is with the history of this literature during its present renaissance that Mr. Wiener chiefly deals in the volume whose title we have placed above. So far as we know, Mr. Wiener's is the first attempt at a systematic treatment of the subject which has appeared in English. As for Mr. Wiener himself, he is the Instructor in Slavic Languages at Harvard University, and is in perfect sympathy with his subject. He is rather hard upon one or two of his foreign contemporaries who have treated of the same topic, but his own work bears abundant evidence of wide research and accurate information, and though a little wanting in method and sometimes tantalising because of its omissions, it is full of instruction and attractively written.

Strictly speaking, Yiddish is not a language nor a dialect, but a jargon—the jargon used by the Judeo-German communities dwelling chiefly in Germany and Russia. A jargon is a language in process of making from two or more, one of which forms the basis, animating and assimilating the borrowings from the rest. Or to use Mr. Wiener's definition, it is 'the chaotic state of a speech-mixture at the moment when the foreign elements first enter into it,' and the mixture, he goes on to explain, 'can never be entirely arbitrary, since it is subject to the spirit of one fundamental language which does not lose its identity.' The introduction of the foreign element, however, may be spread over a longer or shorter period, and until the fundamental language asserts itself by the assimilation of the foreign element the chaotic state of the jargon remains in a more or less developed condition.

Jargons did not arise among the Jews until the middle of the fifteenth century. Down to that period the mediæval Jews

were always bilingual, speaking and writing, often with great precision, in addition to their Hebrew, the vernacular of the country in which they lived. But, in the fifteenth century, when, in consequence of the continued expulsion of the Jews from their native lands, there was scarcely a Jewish congregation in the South of Europe in which there was not a large foreign element, Hebrew words—since Hebrew was the only language common to the race—began to be introduced into the vernacular. Many such words were also introduced through the practice, common among the Jews, of teaching young children the Hebrew names of ordinary domestic objects.* Yiddish, however, came later, and may be said to owe its existence to the persecutions to which the Jews were subjected in Germany at the time of the Reformation. Its basis is High German; but though that is the case, it is not merely a mixture of High German and Hebrew; other elements go to form it. Graetz, whose attitude both towards the jargon and to those among whom it arose, is not altogether friendly, attributes its origin largely to an excessive study of the Talmud. After observing that the whole tendency of Jewish thought in Poland during the sixteenth century was turned in a wrong direction through this excessive study, he goes on to remark: 'The language of the Jews in particular suffered from this cause, degenerating into a ridiculous jargon, a mixture of German, Polish, Talmudical elements, becoming an unpleasant stammering, rendered still more repulsive by forced attempts at wit.' 'This corrupt speech, despising all forms,' he adds, 'could only be understood by Jews who were natives of the country.'†

Mr. Wiener gives a different and, in our opinion, a much more reasonable account of its origin. The paragraph in which he does so is somewhat long, but we shall venture to place it here because of its importance. 'Previous to the Sixteenth Century,' he says, 'the Jews in Germany spoke the dialects of their immediate surroundings; there is no evidence

* *Abraham's Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, p. 359.

† *History of the Jews*, English Translation iv., 682.

to prove any introduction of Hebrew words at that early period, although it must be supposed that words relating purely to the Mosaic ritual may have found their way into the spoken language even then. The sixteenth century finds a large number of German Jews resident in Bohemia, Poland, and Lithuania. As is frequently the case with immigrants, the Jews in those distant countries developed a greater intellectual activity than their brethren at home, and this is indicated by the prominence of the printing offices at Prague and Cracow, and the large number of natives of those countries who figure as authors of Judeo-German works up to the nineteenth century. But torn away from a vivifying intercourse with their mother country, their vocabulary could not be increased from the living source of the language alone, for their interests began to diverge. Religious instruction being given entirely in Hebrew, it was natural for them to make use of all such Hebrew words as they thus became familiar with. Their close study of the Talmud furnished them from that source with a large number of words of argumentation, while the native Slavic languages naturally added their mite toward making the Judeo-German more and more unlike the mother tongue. Since books published in Bohemia were equally current in Poland, and *vice versa*, and Jews perused a great number of books, there was always a lively interchange of thoughts going on in these countries, causing some Bohemian words to migrate to Poland, and Polish words back to Bohemia. These books printed in Slavic countries were received with open hands also in Germany, and their preponderance over similar books at home was so great that the foreign corruption affected the spoken language of the German Jews, and they accepted also a number of Slavic words together with the Semitic infection. This was further aided by the many Polish teachers, who, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, were almost the only instructors of Hebrew in Germany.'

Essentially, therefore, Mr. Wiener argues, Yiddish or Judeo-German, is a German dialect group closely following in its many dialectic variations the High German dialects of the

Middle Rhine, with Frankfurt for its centre. The foreign elements at first introduced into it were Hebraic from the Talmud and Slavic from Poland and Bohemia. Subsequently, after the migrations into Russia, many Russian words were introduced. As a consequence of the wide extent of the Slavic countries, anything like uniformity was impossible, and many sub-dialects sprung up, with a tendency to divide themselves into two groups. 'The various sub-dialects of Poland,' as Mr. Wiener points out, 'differ considerably from the group which includes the north-west of Russia, while they resemble somewhat more closely the southern variety.' In the printed literature before the beginning of the present century nothing of this diversity appears. 'There,' Mr. Wiener observes, 'a great uniformity prevails, and by giving the Hebrew vowels, or the consonants that are used as such, the values that they have in the mouths of German Jews, we obtain, in fact, what appears to be an apocopated corrupted form of literary German. The spelling has remained more or less traditional, and though it becomes finally phonetic, it seems to ascribe to the vowels the values nearest to those of the mother-language and current in certain varieties of the Lithuanian group.' This older stage of the language is still familiar to the Russian-Jewish women through the 'Zeena Ureena,' or prayer-book, and the special prayers recited in Judeo-German. It is also used by modern writers in the composition of prayers.

The first to make use of the vernacular for literary purposes in the present century was *Minchas Mendel Lefin*, a Galician. He has since been followed by a whole crowd of writers in Russia, in whose hands the language has undergone considerable modifications. Most of these writers have written in one or other of the southern dialects, and their language, Mr. Wiener remarks, 'abounds in a large number of idiomatic expressions for which one would in vain look in the older writings; words of Slavic origin that were used in everyday life were freely introduced, and the old diction was superseded by one that is entirely new. At first their spelling was quite phonetic. But as they were mostly under the influence of the Mendelssohnian School at Lemberg, their leaning towards German

literature soon led them into the unfortunate mistake of introducing German orthography for their dialect, with the result that it now is frequently impossible to tell from the form of a word how it may have been pronounced.' 'Add to this,' Mr. Wiener continues, 'the historical spelling of the Hebrew and the phonetic of the Slavic words, and one can easily imagine the chaos that prevails in the written language.'

As now used for literary purposes the language has no linguistic norm. Most of the best writers employ slightly varying dialects of Volhynia. The Lithuanian variety is also well represented, and lately Perez has begun to write in his Polish vernacular. German influence which began to show itself early, has affected both the spelling and the vocabulary of the early Lithuanian writers. In America the literary dialect has come to resemble literary German. A number of English terms for familiar objects has been introduced, but on the whole the language of the best writers in America differs, Mr. Wiener tells us, but little from that of their former home.

Altogether, the language exhibits very considerable diversity, but the main differences between it and the mother-tongue, as pointed out by Mr. Wiener in the concluding paragraph of his chapter upon it, are these: 'Its vocalism has undergone considerable change, varying from locality to locality; the German unaccented final *e* has, as in other dialects of German, disappeared; in declensional forms the genitive has almost entirely disappeared, while in the Lithuanian group, the dative has also coincided with the accusative; in the verb, Judeo-German has lost almost entirely the imperfect tense; and the order of words is more like the English than the German.' These, he adds, in accordance with what may be called his main contention, are all developments for which parallels can be adduced from the region of Frankfurt, and Judeo-German is not an anomaly, but a natural development.

But to turn to the literature. As already said, it is varied and living. It comprises folklore, folksongs, other poetry both printed and unprinted, allegories, dramas, essays, tales and

novels. Part of it consists of translations and borrowings from other literatures; part of it has a specifically didactic aim, being inspired by the movement initiated by Mendelssohn for the intellectual and moral elevation of the poorer communities of the race scattered throughout Germany and Russia; and a part of it owes its origin to a genuine literary spirit.

In folklore Yiddish is particularly rich, though scarcely so original as has sometimes been supposed. In the dissemination of folklore, the Jews, during the Middle Ages, were undoubtedly most potent agents. Great travellers, they were to be found in most quarters of the three continents, and 'became unwittingly the mediators of the intellectual life of the most remote lands.' Always possessed by an innate love for story-telling, their own religious and semi-religious stories were insufficient to satisfy their curiosity, and wherever they went they gathered up whatever stories they could, and repeated them in the ears of eager listeners on their return home and in the dwellings of the *diaspora* with whom they chanced to lodge during their travels. In this way the Jews of the Middle Ages became the possessors of a vast fund of folklore. Many of the stories it contained were written down for the use of women, and the books in which they were printed falling into hands outside Jewish circles, the Jews in this way became the medium through which much of the folklore of distant lands managed to become current in Europe.* Little trouble has been taken in the way of editing these stories, and most of them remain, though printed over and over again, just as they were originally printed.

Their variety is immense. Speaking of the folklore of the Russian Jews, Mr. Wiener says: 'time and space are annihilated in it. Here one finds side by side the quaint stories of the Talmud of Babylonian, Persian, and Egyptian origin, with the Polyphemus myth of the Greeks, the English "Bevys of Hamptoun," the Arabic "Thousand and One Nights." Stories

* See on this point an excellent essay by Mr. Jacobs in his *Jewish Ideals*.

in which half a dozen motives from separate tales have been moulded into one harmonious whole, jostle with those that show unmistakable signs of venerable antiquity. Nowhere else can such a variety of tales be found as in Judeo-German; nor is there any need, as in other literatures, to have recourse to collections of the diligent searcher: one will find hundreds of them, nay thousands, told without any conscious purpose in the chapbooks that are annually issued at Wilna, Lemberg, Lublin, and other places.'

Besides these there is a vast number of stories of native growth, both written and unwritten, that involve the superstitions and beliefs of a more local character. Many of the tales may be traced back to the Talmud, and include a number of animal fables, stories of strange beasts, much imaginary geography, and a large number of apocryphal Bible stories. One of the most interesting series is that which contains the tales relating to the river Sambation—a river which, though seldom discovered by mortals, has always been the object of their life-long quest. During the week it throws large rocks towards heaven, and rushes along with a deafening roar. On the Sabbath it rests, but resumes its activity at the close of the day. Beyond it live the Red Jews. The best story of this cycle is, in Mr. Wiener's opinion, one told by Meissach, of which he gives the following sketch:—

'An inquisitive tailor sets out in search of the Sambation river. Of all the Jews that he meets he inquires the direction that he is to take thitherward; and he makes public announcements of his urgent business at all the synagogues that he visits. But all in vain. Three times he has already traversed the length and breadth of this earth, but never did he get nearer his destination. Undaunted, he starts out once more to reach the tribe of the Red Jews. Suddenly he arrives near the awful river. Overwhelmed by its din, terrified by its eruptions, he falls down on the ground and prays to the all-merciful God. It happened to be a few minutes before the time that the river was to go to rest. The clock strikes, and, as if by magic, the scene is changed. The tailor finds a ford, passes on to the other side, and, exhausted from his wanderings, he lies down to sleep in the grass. The tribe of men that live there are a race of giants. One of them, noticing the intruder, takes him up and slips him into his spacious coat pocket. He proceeds to the bath-house to take his ablution, and thence to the synagogue, having the tailor all the while in his pocket.

The giant begins to pray. At the end, while a pause ensues, the pious tailor unconsciously exclaims, "Amen!" Astonished to hear that mysterious voice, the giant brings the tailor to light, and showers many signs of respect upon him, for even the giants know how to honour a pious man. The tailor liked it there so much that he never returned to his native home.'

Gulliver's Travels at once comes back to the memory, and one wonders whether Swift ever read this story, or was in any way acquainted with it. The central figures in another class of tales are Moses, David, and Elijah, all of whom are supposed to visit the unfortunate and distressed, and to help them. According to popular belief Elijah did not die. When he visits men, his presence is known only, if we may so say, when he departs, for he then usually leaves behind him a cloud of vapour. At the ceremony of circumcision a chair is always left unoccupied for him. David is supposed to preside over the repast at the conclusion of the Sabbath, when a song is recited in which his name is mentioned. While the presence of Elijah is always unknown, David's is recognised by the courtiers and musicians that always accompany him, and by the harp he holds in his hand.

Of the mediæval legends the majority cluster round the more or less famous among the Rabbis of Central Europe, and the cities of Amsterdam, Frankfort, Worms, Prague, and Cracow have all their special series of wonderful tales about the supernatural powers of these ancient worthies. The most famous among them is Maimonides, or Rambam, as he is called, and the stories about him are almost endless. Like Virgil, he has been transformed into a wizard who knows the hidden properties of plants and stones, is able to interpret dreams and to read the future, and has the power to annihilate space.

Other tales refer to the Lamed-wow-niks, the Thirty-six, or Hidden, Saints. These have been evolved in Slavic countries. The Saints are called 'hidden,' because it is characteristic of them to conceal both their sanctity and their power. No one ever dreams that they are anything more than ordinary human beings. As a rule they are tailors or shoemakers, who ply their vocations unostentatiously, and to all appearance they

are common people, poor and mentally rather undeveloped. When their identity is made apparent, they vigorously deny that they belong to the chosen Thirty-six, and only admit the fact when the evidence against them is overwhelming. After performing some act, usually, by which a calamity is averted, they return to their ordinary manner of life, but in some other town or neighbourhood where they are not likely to be recognised. But for them, the sins of men it is supposed would long since have brought about the ruin of the universe. One of these is the old man Prochorovich who figures in Turgénieff's story 'The Dog,' a translation of which recently appeared in the pages of this *Review* (April, 1899).

Local legends or legends relating to particular localities are especially numerous. 'There is hardly,' says Mr. Wiener, 'an inn on the highways and byways of Western Russia and Galicia that has not its own circle of wonderful tales. Every town possesses its remarkable Rabbi whose memory lives in the deeds that he is supposed to have performed. But none, except the town of Mesiboz, the birthplace of Balschem-tow, the founder of the sect of the Khassidim, can boast of such a complete set of legendary tales as the cities of Wilna and Cracow. In Wilna they will still tell the curious stranger many reminiscences of those glorious days when their Rabbis could arrest the workings of natural laws, and when their sentence was binding on ghosts as well as men. They will take him to the synagogue and show him a large dark spot in the cupola, and they will tell him that during an insurrection a cannon-ball struck the building, and that it would have proceeded on its murderous journey but for the command of the Rabbi to be lodged in the wall.' And many things more of the same kind they will tell him.

But the most numerous and marvellous of these legendary tales are those which are told by the Khassidim about the founder of their sect and his disciples. Israel Baalshem, the founder of the sect, was born about 1700 in Bukowina and died at Mesiboz in 1761. Most of his time he spent in travelling about and preaching to the Jewish communities in Wallachia, where he obtained an extraordinary reputation for

sanctity and marvellous power. Stories are told about the signs and portents that heralded his birth, the almost preternatural virtues of his parents, the miraculous annunciation of his nativity, and the exceptional circumstances by which his birth was attended. The signs and miracles he performed subsequently were, according to the legends, amazing. When he desired to cross a stream he used to spread his mantle upon the waters, and, standing upon it, pass over dryshod. Ghosts are represented as evacuating houses at the mere mention of his name. When alone in the forests on a wintry night, he had but to touch a tree with the tip of his finger and flames burst forth. He was wont, it is said, to travel through the angelic spheres, and there frequently obtained access to Paradise for millions of pining souls who had vainly waited through long thousands of years.* Many other similarly wonderful stories are told both about Baalshem and his disciples, which, together with those derived from other sources, make the Yiddish folklore extremely rich and curious.

As might be expected, the folksongs of the Judeo-Germans are less numerous; still there is no scarcity of them. Strongly subjective, they have always more or less of a lyric tinge. Among them are to be found cradle songs, songs of children, love songs, songs of disappointment, of widowhood, of pain and suffering, and ditties in which the writer laughs at his own weaknesses or ridicules the credulity or superstition of the Khassidim. Songs of childhood are particularly numerous, and as a rule are much more practical in their tendency than those which are sung in Gentile nurseries. In most of them the serious aspects of life are dwelt upon, boys being reminded of their future calling and that they are to grow up orthodox Jews, and girls that it will fall to them to be wives and good mothers. The following Mr. Wiener tells us is probably the most popular song in Judeo-German, as it is sung from Galicia to Siberia, and from the Baltic provinces to Roumania.

'Hinter Jankeles Wiegele
Stöhlt a klär-weiss Ziegele :

* Schechter's *Studies in Judaism*, pp. 13, 14.

Ziegele is' gefahren handlen
 Rozinkelach mit Mandlen.
 Rozinkelach mit Mandlen
 Sanen die beste S-chöre,—
 Jankele wet lernen Töre,
 Töre wet er lernen,
 Briewelach wet er schreiben,
 Un' an ehrlicher Jud'
 Wet er af tomid verbleiben.'

'Behind Jacob's cradle there stands a clear white goat ; the goat has gone a-bartering raisins and almonds. Raisins and almonds are the best wares,—Jacob will study the Law, the law he will study, letters he will write, and an honest Jew he will for ever remain.'*

Here is one which is beyond the cradle stage and is full of tender recollections and beauty—

'Jahren kleine, Jahren schoene,
 Was sent ihr aso wenig da ?
 Ihr sent nor gekummen,
 Me hat euch schoen aufgenummen,
 Un' sent nor gewe'n bei uns ein Scho !

'Jahren junge, Jahren g' ringe,
 Was sent ihr aso gich aweg ?
 Es seht euch nit kein Äugel,
 Es derjagen euch nit die Voegel,
 Ihr sent aweg gar ohn' ein Eck' ?'

"Little years, beautiful years, why are there so few of you ? You had scarcely come, you were well received, and you stayed but an hour with us ! Young years, light years, why have you passed so quickly ? Not an eye can see you, not a bird can fly as swiftly, you have passed without return."

Love ditties are numerous, but such were the social customs and conditions of the Jews that the romantic love of which young Gentiles dream, and which finds expression in their popular poetry, did not till quite recently flourish among them, and in the Judeo-German dictionary the word 'love' does not occur. Since the middle of the present century, Mr. Wiener tells us, they have become acquainted with the passion, and

* This and the following translations are Mr. Wiener's.

in default of a term of their own, whenever the passion or feeling has to be named the German word 'liebe' is employed. Here, for instance, is one of the older songs:—

'Schoen bin ich, schoen, un' schoen is' mein Namen ;
 Redt män mir schiduchim vun grosse Rabonim.
 Rabonische Tore is' sehr gross,
 Un' ich bei mein Mamen a züchtige Ros'.
 A Ros' is' auf'n Dach,
 A lichtige Nacht
 Wasser is' in Stub, Holz is' in Haus,
 Welchen Bocher hab' ich feind, treib' ich ihm araus !
 Fischelach in Wasser, Kräppelach in Puter,
 Welchen Bocher hat mich feind, a Ruch in sein Mutter !

'Pretty I am, pretty, and pretty is my name ; they talk of great rabbis as matches for me. Rabbi's learning is very great, but I am a treasured rose of my mother's. A rose upon the roof, a clear night ; water is in the room, wood is in the house. If I love not a boy, I drive him away ! Fish in the water, fritters in butter—If a boy love me not, cursed be his mother !'

The following, as the language shows, is more modern:—

Schwarz bist du, schwarz, asō wie a Zigeuner,
 Ich hab' gemeint, as du we'st sein meiner ;
 Schwarz bist du, aber mit Cheen,
 Für wemen du bist mies, für mir bist du schoen ;
 Schoen bist du wie Silber, wie Gold,—
 Wer's hat dich feind un' ich hab' dich hold.
 Vun alle Fehlern kann a Doktor abheilen,
 Die Liebe vun mein Herzen kann ich var Keinem nit derzaehlen.'

'Black you are, black as a gypsy, I thought you would always be mine ; black you are, but with grace—for others you may be homely, but for me you are handsome ; handsome you are, like silver, like gold,—let others dislike you, but I love you. Of all troubles a doctor can cure, the love in my heart I can tell to no one.'

Most of the love songs are by women ; love songs addressed by men to women are rare. Some of them are touched with a profound melancholy, especially those of them which tell of the distant lover, or in which the death of the betrothed is mourned. Pathetic, too, are those which describe the sufferings of the young bride in the house of her husband's parents

at the hands of her mother-in-law, or of her desertion, or widowhood. The songs composed by men relate to the sterner incidents of life, and are often as tender and pathetic in their expressions of attachment as those composed by women. The Russian Jew, though by no means a coward, has a natural aversion to military service, at any rate in the Russian army, or in a country where he is hardly recognised as a citizen, and is an object of contempt and ill-treatment; and his aversion to it has found expression in a number of songs in which he bewails his separation from his friends, his forced absence from wife or bride or children, and gives utterance to his detestation for the service and his preference for the study of the Bible and its commentaries. Other poems and rhyming chronicles written by men narrate the persecutions to which they have been subjected, and the inhumanities practised upon their tribes. As may readily be supposed, the tone of most of these poems is the darkest pessimism. Still the more amusing side of life is not altogether neglected, and in the credulity and weaknesses of the Khassidim the orthodox Jew often finds much to laugh at and subjects for ridicule.

Besides the poetry which was spread orally, a number of songs and poems were circulated in manuscript. There is now, also, a considerable number in print. Many of these are translations from German, Hebrew, and Russian; but others of them are original. Between the years 1865 and 1878 the Galician, Wolf Ehrenkranz, brought out no fewer than five volumes. They include every variety of folksong known to Judeo-German literature, with the exception of those treating of historical and allegorical subjects. Many of them are songs of reflection, and dwell upon the sorrows and vanity of life, the inconstancy of fortune, etc. Others bear such titles as—‘The Tombstone,’ ‘The Contented,’ ‘The Tombstone-Cutter,’ ‘The Precentor,’ ‘The Cemetery,’ ‘Think not of Death:’ the cemetery, gravedigger, and funeral, being themes to which the Jewish popular singers are specially drawn. Some of the cleverest of Ehrenkrantz’s poems are those in which he ridicules the Khassidim. The writings of two other Galicians are held in great esteem—David Apotheker and Bajrach Benedikt

Schafir. In Russia we have Inchak Joel Linetzki, who wrote 'The Evil-Tongued Wedding-Jester,' Michel Gordon, S. Berenstein, and Abraham Goldfaden, all of whom may be said to belong to the German school. Each of them was more or less acquainted with German literature, and hoped to substitute the German language for the Judeo-German. Goldfaden was the founder of the Jewish theatre. His poems, it is said, would fill several large volumes, but, unfortunately, they are scattered through various periodicals, and in the greater part of the dramas he wrote for the stage. The most esteemed of the popular singers among the Jews in Russia is, perhaps, Jehuda Loeb Gordon. He has written but nine or ten folksongs, but they are said to represent 'the highest perfection of the older school of the popular bard.'

As might be expected, Judeo-German poetry while abounding in folksongs, includes a considerable number of poems of a distinctly ethical character. Among the writers who may be mentioned in this connection before the eighties are S. Sobel, Elieser Zwi Zweifel, Abramowitsch, Goldfaden, M. Lew, and M. Epstein. In 1874 the first published his *Destiny or Discussions for Pleasant Pastime*, in which he endeavours to inculcate a series of moral truths. Zweifel published a series of moral aphorisms in verse, which, like his prose works, are among the most cherished writings of the Russian Jews, and have often been reprinted. Abramowitsch, who became famous in other lines of literature, translated part of the Psalms, threw the Sabbath prayers into verse, and wrote *Judel: a Poem in Rhymes*, which is regarded in its way as the most remarkable work in the whole range of Judeo-German literature. It runs to about four thousand lines, and tells the story of Judel's unfortunate life. Like Goldfaden's 'Aristocratic Marriage,' it is an allegorical story of the historical vicissitudes of Judaism, and of the sufferings of the Jews. 'Not only,' says Mr. Wiener, 'is the story told unobtrusively, so that one does not at all suspect the allegory, but the wonderment increases when, upon a second and third perusal, one becomes aware of the wealth of Biblical allusions upon which alone the whole plot is based.' 'The future commentator of this classic,' he

goes on to add, 'will, when it shall be fully appreciated, find his task made much easier by the many references to Biblical passages which Abramowitsch has himself made in the footnotes.' 'The value of this gem,' he further remarks, 'is still more enhanced by the refined language used in it.' Ten years later Goldfaden followed the example of Abramowitsch, and produced his *Schabssiel: a Poem in Ten Chapters*, running to about six hundred lines, in which the sufferings of the Jew are ascribed to his neglect of the law and desecration of the Sabbath. The plot is somewhat fantastic, but the work is full of fine passages, and is reckoned among his best productions.

In 1879 the whole of Krylov was translated into Judeo-German, and ten years later there appeared a volume of poems by Dr. Ettinger, the author of the comedy of 'Serkle.' The volume is made up of a number of fables and poems of various character. Half of them are translations from Lessing, Schiller, Blumauer, and others, while the rest are original.

The present renaissance may be said to date from the year 1884, while the terrible persecutions which broke out in Russia in 1881 were still fresh in the memory of the Jews, and when S. Rabinowitsch stepped into the field. He was followed, in 1885, by Frug, who had previously contributed to Russian poetry. Other writers also, such as Perez and Rosenfeld, who felt that so long as the persecution continued, their first duty was towards their own people, forsook the Russian tongue, and took to Judeo-German. The most distinguished among them is Leon Perez, poet and novelist, who, though less popular as a poet than Frug, is esteemed one of the greatest writers, not only in Judeo-German literature, but of literature in general at the end of the nineteenth century. 'If he had written nothing else but "The Sewing of the Wedding Gown," his name,' says Mr. Wiener, 'would live as long as there could be found people to interpret the language in which he sings.' His works fill several large volumes, and are in prose as well as verse.

Many of the writings of this period have been produced in America, whither vast numbers of Russian Jews emigrated in order to escape the political oppression at home. Among the

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goes on to add, 'will, when it shall be fully appreciated, find his task made much easier by the many references to Biblical passages which Abramowitsch has himself made in the footnotes.' 'The value of this gem,' he further remarks, 'is still more enhanced by the refined language used in it.' Ten years later Goldfaden followed the example of Abramowitsch, and produced his *Schabssiel: a Poem in Ten Chapters*, running to about six hundred lines, in which the sufferings of the Jew are ascribed to his neglect of the law and desecration of the Sabbath. The plot is somewhat fantastic, but the work is full of fine passages, and is reckoned among his best productions.

In 1879 the whole of Krylov was translated into Judeo-German, and ten years later there appeared a volume of poems by Dr. Ettinger, the author of the comedy of 'Serkele.' The volume is made up of a number of fables and poems of various character. Half of them are translations from Lessing, Schiller, Blumauer, and others, while the rest are original.

The present renaissance may be said to date from the year 1884, while the terrible persecutions which broke out in Russia in 1881 were still fresh in the memory of the Jews, and when S. Rabinowitsch stepped into the field. He was followed, in 1885, by Frug, who had previously contributed to Russian poetry. Other writers also, such as Perez and Rosenfeld, who felt that so long as the persecution continued, their first duty was towards their own people, forsook the Russian tongue, and took to Judeo-German. The most distinguished among them is Leon Perez, poet and novelist, who, though less popular as a poet than Frug, is esteemed one of the greatest writers, not only in Judeo-German literature, but of literature in general at the end of the nineteenth century. 'If he had written nothing else but "The Sewing of the Wedding Gown," his name,' says Mr. Wiener, 'would live as long as there could be found people to interpret the language in which he sings.' His works fill several large volumes, and are in prose as well as verse.

Many of the writings of this period have been produced in America, whither vast numbers of Russian Jews emigrated in order to escape the political oppression at home. Among the

names mentioned there are the balladist, Reingold of Chicago; Zunser of New York, who 'has written some of the best poems in the New World;' Sharkansky, author of *Jewish Melodies* and *Songs of Zion*; Edelstadt, the poet of the Anarchist party; and Morris Winchevsky, who represents the Socialists. Goldfaden has also written some of his poems in America, while those of Rosenfeld, who is regarded as the most original poet among the Russian Jews of the New Continent, have been almost wholly written there.

It would take us too far to enumerate all the prose writers, who in spite of the less wise among the followers of the Has-kala, have used the Judeo-German as their literary medium; and all we can do is to mention a few of them. The two books to set something like a standard were Hurwitz's *Discovery of America* and Mendel Lefin's *Translation of the Psalms*. The first was published at Wilna in 1824 and the other in the south of Russia in 1817. Both Hurwitz and Lefin were bitterly attacked for making use of the jargon, but their example was soon followed by Aksenfeld, Ettinger, Levinsohn, Gottlober, and others. The most prolific among them was Aksenfeld, at one time a Khassid, a man of great culture and great activity. Of the six and twenty books he is said to have written in the twenties, only five have been printed. The rest are said to be stored away in a loft in Odessa, where they are held as security for a debt incurred by the trustees of his estate. Of the five printed books one is a novel, the rest are dramas, all representative of Jewish life and character. Like the poetry of the period, most of the prose literature during the first half of the century is directed against the Khassidim, and for the most part originated in the desire to introduce among the Jews of Russia the more enlightened ideas of Western civilisation. Abramowitzch, who, if not so prolific a writer as Askenfeld, has published a larger number of works, was inspired by the same desire, and takes rank amongst the foremost Judeo-German writers of the century. Other writers prior to 1881 are Liuitzki, the son of a Khassidic Rabbi, who, leaving the sect, treated of the weaknesses and foibles of its members in some of his earlier works, such as *The Polish Boy* and *The Maggot in the*

Horseradish, with a sort of Rabelaisian humour; Aisik Meier Dick who translated much and aimed at cultivating a higher literary taste especially among the poorer classes and Jewish women; Falkowitsch, and Zederbaum. Zederbaum established a Hebrew periodical, the *Hameliz*, in 1861, as an organ for advanced ideas of culture for those who still clung to the sacred language as the only medium for the advancement of secular knowledge. In 1863 he added to this Hebrew weekly a supplement—the *Kol-mewasser*—in Judeo-German, and in 1881 he obtained the permission of the Government to issue a Judeo-German weekly, the *Jüdisches Volksblatt*. After an existence of ten years, during which it formed the rallying point for all who could write in Yiddish, the *Kol-mewasser* was suppressed by the Government. The *Volksblatt* had at first to struggle for existence, and literary topics were seldom treated in its pages, but in 1883 it was joined by Mordechai Spektor and Solomon Rabinowitsch, when it speedily obtained a wide popularity. Since then Spektor has written much both in the shape of short sketches and of extended novels. His scenes are drawn from the circles with which he is familiar, and all his men and women are Jews. In 1887 he settled in Warsaw and set up *Der Hausfreund*, a purely literary periodical, the first of its kind in Judeo-German. About the same time S. Rabinowitsch began to issue his annual, *Der Jüdische Volksbibliothek*, with which he was assisted by Frischmann, M. J. Rabinowitsch, Perez, Litinski, Drs. Skomarowski and Tscherny, and A. Schulmann. S. Rabinowitsch's own best work is *Stempenuj*, a novel in which Stempenuj, a violinist, marries a dull, prosaic woman and falls in love with another, who struggles through the temptation and finally comes out victoriously through the strength of her convictions of the sanctity of her marriage ties.

Mr. Weiner has an excellent chapter on the Jewish theatre, but we can only note that in Judeo-German literary activity has developed in other ways than those above indicated. The older ethical works still retain their power, and are still printed at Warsaw and Lublin; but of late other and similar works have appeared. Sermons as well as moral treatises have

been written in the jargon, and the dialect has been learned by missionaries both from the English and from the Greek Church. The old prayers have been translated, and new ones have been added. There is now a Russian-Judeo-German and Judeo-German-Russian dictionary. There is an elementary work on arithmetic, and another on letter-writing. Of the latter, which was intended as a guide for Judeo-German spelling and letter-writing for women and children, a hundred editions are said to have appeared. Spanish word-books and Arabic word-books are now in circulation. There is a translation of Graetz's *Popular History of the Jews* and another of Resser's *Universal History*. Translations of scientific books are particularly numerous, and Calendars, newspapers, and periodical publications are increasing among the diaspora and rapidly spreading among them knowledge and information of divers kinds. But for the Russian Government the jargon might have died out, but since 1884 it has taken a new start, and appears as if it meant to live not only in the mouths of those who use it for their daily intercourse, but also on the printed page.

ART. V.—RECENT HITTITE DISCOVERIES.

THE Mission confided by the French Government to M. Ernest Chantre in 1893-4 has produced some most novel and important contributions to the early history of Western Asia. He has excavated at several of the chief towns of Cappadocia, and has collected tablets, bas reliefs, bronzes, and pottery, of high antiquity, which especially cast light on the earliest period of Cappadocian civilization, when conquerors and traders were entering the country from Mesopotamia, and the Egyptians also visiting the shores of Cilicia immediately to the south. His collection casts a new and important light on what is called the 'Hittite' question, and provides not only fresh

material, in rock texts and seals of this character, but also two new sources of information. First, the thirteen tablets written in cuneiform, which have been generally acknowledged to be in what is called the 'Mitanni language,' which was the same spoken by the Hittites, as had already been proved by the Amarna tablets; and secondly, a link between the national or 'Hittite' character, and the later syllabary known—as used by the Greeks in Cyprus—to represent the 'hieratic' forms of the original Hittite symbols.

Having thus a mass of new material, in known characters of which the sounds are certain, we possess a definite subject of study independent of any former theory; and though scholars who have not specially studied the old language of the Kassites and Akkadians call this an 'unknown tongue,' because it is certainly not Semitic and shows no resemblance to Aryan speech (Persian, Medic, Greek, or Armenian); yet considering how exactly it coincides in grammar and in vocabulary with dialects already well understood, between 3000 B.C. and 500 B.C., as found in Mitanni (Matiene), in Syria (in the single letter of Tar-khundara, King of Arzapi, who was a Hittite), in Babylonian Kassite texts, and in the old Akkadian inscriptions of Nippur and Tell Loh, as well as in the 'third language' of the Behistun inscriptions, there is no real reason to regard this speech as other than well known already. It is in fact the ancient language whence modern Turkish sprang, and though the latter has—like all other languages—undergone modification and development in time, yet the vocabulary and grammar remain almost unchanged to-day in the same regions where this tongue was spoken from the earliest known ages.

Scholars have unfortunately been engaged in seeking comparisons with the wrong parallels. Lenormant directed their attention to Georgian, and to other languages of the Caucasus, which are extremely mixed in character, combining Aryan and Mongolic dialects, just as the population is mixed, including Mongol Lazis, and other Tartars, as well as Armenians, Persians, and Georgians, whose speech is connected with the Aryan family of languages. Others have looked to the Vannic dialect of the ninth century, B.C., which is closely related to

Persian. Others have sought to find the key in Armenian—an European dialect akin to Slav languages; and in each case they have, on the one hand, failed to recognise the great antiquity of the Hittite remains—preceding the arrival of the Aryans in these regions—and on the other have ignored the evidence afforded by the known sounds of the Cypriote characters. The Hittite native texts of Cappadocia are supposed by M. Chantre to be at least as early as 2000 B.C., for which conclusion he gives good reasons; and he even suggests that the first settlers, whom he sees to have come from Mesopotamia, accompanied Sargon I. about 3800 B.C., when he extended his empire to the Mediterranean. Hence the Akkadian language is naturally that which would suit such a history, while the physical type of the people, as represented on these new monuments, is as closely similar to that of the Akkadians, as is the character of their art, or their religious symbolism.

It is to this race that the Bible appears to refer in speaking of the Cushites who lived in Asia, and who were not—as some have suggested—confounded by the Hebrew writers with the Kassites of Babylon, though the latter were a tribe of this race. In 1882 Mr. Pinches pointed out that Cappadocia appeared to be called *Kusa* or 'Cush' about 2000 B.C. In a very ancient tablet from Nippur, written in Akkadian and describing the conquests of an early king whose name is uncertain, but may be read *Sargana* or 'Sargon,' we find him described as *Tur-kusu*, 'Son of Cush.' The writer goes on to say that God had given to this monarch 'the kingdom of the whole land, established in the sight of the world, the multitudes of the lands being made submissive East and West, the land being that day widened, from the sea of the mountain by Tigris and Euphrates, to the Sea of Elam.' He was King of Akkad, Erech, Larsa, Nippur; and how far west his kingdom reached cannot be said. From these two separate notices we appear to learn that the sons of Cush, speaking the Akkadian language, had spread, long before Babylon was built, to the Persian Gulf and to Cappadocia.

In the Book of Genesis in like manner we read of Cush in connection with Chaldea at the earliest period of history (Gen. x. 7), and we also hear that one of the four great rivers of Paradise

compassed all the land of Cush (Gen. ii., 13). The other three rivers were Tigris and Euphrates and Pison, which latter ran to the gold-bearing regions. The region indicated as at the source of these rivers is clearly in Armenia, and Pison has been supposed to be the Araxes running towards the Caucasus and Caspian—to the land of gold according to Greek tradition—while Gihon which watered Cush is supposed to be the Halys, running through Cappadocia and Pontus to the Black Sea. This agrees with the notice of *Kusa* as a Cappadocian region; and the Bible and the monuments alike indicate a wide extension of this ancient Cushite race.

Some scholars however have argued that the Hittites had not reached Syria as early as M. Chantre now supposes. Dr. Jensen would place their monuments all as late as the eighth century B.C. Dr. Sayce suggests that they did not appear before the reign of Amenophis IV. (about 1400 B.C.). Dr. Hommel says the 'second millennium, B.C.,' and thinks that Hamath was not built till after the fourteenth century B.C., because it is unnoticed in the Amarna letters. It is, however, named much earlier by Thothmes III. about 1600 B.C., and the Hittites of Syria are noticed even earlier. There is no real objection to M. Chantre's view, and it is quite impossible that the texts should be as late as Dr. Jensen supposes; nor can the new ones be read by aid of Armenian, which is his theory—an assertion contradicted by all the known sounds.

Evidence also exists, quite independent of these inscriptions, showing the presence of a conqueror with a distinctively Hittite name in Cappadocia at a very early period. At Cœsarea (the ancient Mazaca or 'Shrine of Ma'), Sir C. Wilson found a rock-cut sculpture, representing a king in Babylonian dress, seated on a throne and accompanied by fan-bearers. Captives in the distinctive Hittite costume are brought before him, and he touches with a spear one who crouches at his feet. The accompanying text is written in old cuneiform characters, such as were used about 2000 B.C., and in the Babylonian language. It reads as follows:—*Mukh AN Targundimme mat Gozana mekhisa ame mat melama ali (ci) sarutam izzau Artes Sar Mat Erime.* 'Before the divine Tarkundimme of the Land of Gozan, smiter

of the tribe, all those of the royal city bring out Artes, King of the Land of Erime.' The victor came apparently from Gozan in the North of Mesopotamia, and the country near Cæsarea was called Erime. But the victor, though he had a text written in Semitic speech, was by his name evidently of the Hittite race. The characters are similar to those of the trading tablets of Cappadocia, which M. Chantre assigns to about 2000 B.C. The influence of Mesopotamia had thus extended into Cappadocia about the time of Abraham or earlier; and both the Semitic and the Akkadian race had reached this region. The silver sceptre-head, which is inscribed with both cuneiform and Hittite characters, speaks in its text of the same king. In the Semitic version he is called *Tarkudimme Sar Mat Erime*, 'Tarkutimme, King of the Land of Erime.' The Hittite emblems are six in all, reading (as confirmed by the Cypriote in two cases) (*Tar-kodimmi Eri-me*). The relation borne by this conqueror to the kings of Babylon is not explained, and our knowledge of history is meagre for this early period. But he is not called a 'King of Kings,' and may have been an ally, or even a subordinate of the Kassites of Babylon, who had reached the vicinity of Cappadocia (Kazalla), and had conquered Aleppo as early as the twenty-fourth century B.C.

The same name is found in Hittite texts at Gurun and at Malatiya in Armenia, and at Carchemish in Syria, but it may have been dynastic, for there was a Tarkodimotus in Cappadocia as late as the first century B.C., when a chief so named aided Antony as mentioned in his 'Life' by Plutarch. M. Chantre, however, has found a tablet in the Hittite language which agrees in a most remarkable manner with the text from Cæsarea above noticed, though written in both another script and another language. This tablet gives the more 'hieratic,' or running-hand, forms of the Hittite; and, out of about fifty-six emblems used (including numerals), at least forty-four occur in the Cypriote inscriptions. The sounds are thus established, and the language presents no affinity to either Aryan or Semitic speech, being clearly that used at Arzapi and in Matiene, as already described.

This text informs us that Tarkodimme (who is called *US*, that

is to say 'King' or 'Hero,' and who does not claim the title of 'Suzerain'—*Khakhan*) first captured *Tumulu*, which is evidently the present *Tumlo* North-East of *Tarsus*, near the borders of *Syria* and *Cilicia*, where he captured *Zaavan*—a king whose name may be Semitic (Gen. xxxvi. 27). He then marched to *Kareman*, the present *Karaman* in *Lycaonia*, north-west of *Tarsus*. He then ascended the Valley of the *Sarus*, past *Sis* towards *Zar* or *Sar*, the present *Shar*, which was a famous site on account of its great shrine to *Ma*, which was known even in *Roman* times as *Comana* or 'the abode of *Ma*,' whose worship *Strabo* describes at this temple. From *Comana* he went on to *Serevene*, equally well known as the later *Saravena*, famous for its hot baths—a site now called *Terzili Hammam* from the baths which are still celebrated, and where *M. Chantre* describes the great bath-house of the time of *Justinian*. This site is north-east of *Cæsarea*, and here, according to the new text, *Tarkodimme* had brought before him as a captive the king of the region, named *Eretes*. He seized his kingdom called *Erima*, and enslaved the inhabitants, setting up monuments of his victories in all the chief places, and opening the country to travellers, or in other words establishing the *Babylonian* traders, who have left so many of their commercial tablets in this region written in characters used in *Babylon* about 2000 B.C.

The comparison of this tablet with the text at *Cæsarea* is thus very complete. *Erima* is clearly the same as *Erime*, and *Eretes* as *Artes*. The name of the victor is the same, and the name of the chief of *Sis*, whom he also conquered, was *Tarkon*, also a Hittite name found on other monuments. We have thus a bilingual check on the translation of the Hittite, and definite means of establishing their language; for this tablet contains no less than thirty-nine lines of writing, and is perfect. It is clear that a text which can be so read, and which contains distinctive Hittite names, must be regarded as settling this question, because if it reads as *Turkish* it cannot possibly read as *Armenian* or *Georgian*—languages of quite another character and which, save for an occasional loan word, have nothing at all in common with *Turkish* or *Akkadian*.

This long historic text, in a script which is the long-needed

link between the Cypriote character and the Hittite emblems, thus shows not only the language in use, but also proves that no system of decipherment can be right unless based on the sounds known from the Cypriote. In any Hittite inscription, at least two-thirds of the sounds can be so established, as all the commonest signs occur in Cypriote; and when once the language is fixed it becomes easy to supply the remainder, especially as there is a remarkable parallelism between the old Hittite, and the old 'linear' signs of Akkadian texts. The Hittite belongs to the same family as the 'linear,' which in time became the 'cuneiform' character; and, though not quite identical, the two are practically separate developments of one original system, quite distinct from that of Egypt. The whole system of writing in syllables, with a few 'keys,' and special signs for god, king, place, city, land, man, etc., is the same in Hittite and Akkadian; and the two languages are but dialects of one tongue.

At Carchemish a text in eight lines—clearly written—contains the name *Tar-ko-dim-mi*, and may belong to the conqueror of Cappadocia, as his route evidently lay through Syria. He is described as 'Prince of the allied tribes,' and the words which follow may probably be read *Si sakh-me sak-ra UN Za-bu Kuru-khu sees ri-ke-gal-ven* 'an obedient prince was exalted by Lord *Zabu*, head of the *Sakh* country.' If this is right, Tarkudimmi was the contemporary of a suzerain well known, *Zabu* being King of Babylon about 2200 B.C.—which agrees with the supposed date of M. Chantre's texts. The sign *Sakh* represents the 'sacred tree,' and the 'country of the sacred tree' is probably the country called *Tin-tir* in Akkadian, or 'land of the tree of life'—the old name of Babylon. This translation of *Tintir* has been disputed, because of other names given to Babylon, such as *Subat-Sulum* (in Semitic speech) 'the abode of peace.' But in Akkadian this would be *Ki Kuru-na*, not *Tintir*, which means nothing else than 'life tree' (Akkadian and Turkish *tin* 'life,' and Akkadian *tir* 'tree trunk'—Mongol *derek* 'tree trunk') so that the country intended in the Carchemish text is that over which an historic King *Zabu* ruled. We may fairly conclude that the suzerainty of Babylon was acknowledged in Gozan at this period, for *Zabu*'s predecessor, *Sumulan*, is known to have

extended his kingdom so as to include Kasalla and Sippara. At no time probably could Gozan have been independent after about 2300 B.C., and it is difficult to suppose the cuneiform text of Cassarea to be much older than the age of Zabu.

As regards Saravena, mentioned in the new tablet, and probably in another found by M. Chantre of later date, it is interesting to note that it is also named apparently on a Hittite seal published by Dr. Hayes Ward. The style of the design on this seal is very Babylonian. It represents a man who is probably a king or priest, by a stream springing from a group of rocks and trees. Behind him is a conventional pillar, or sacred tree. The Hittite text contains two common words and a proper name, and may be read *Si-ip-pi Kuru-khu Sa-ra-un ne*—‘Prince of the Land (or place) of *Saraun*.’ The spring represented is no doubt the famous hot spring of Saravena in Cappadocia.

The great temple of Eyuk on the borders of Pontus, with its colossal sphynxes, double-headed eagle, and long procession of worshippers with sacrifices (headed by a priest with the *lituus*) which approaches a goddess—probably Ma, who was adored in Pontus, according to Strabo—has long been recognised as belonging to the so-called ‘Hittite’ art. M. Chantre found fragments of other figures, and a short text, *Zu-vu piess*, ‘worship of Zuvu.’ The latter god was the Kassite *Suvu* or *Sumu* (the *m* and *v* not being distinguished) who answered to the Assyrian *Rimmon*, god of rain, thunder, and air, whom the first Kings of Babylon, *Suvuabi* (‘child of *Sunu*’), and *Suvulan* (‘son of *Sunu*’) worshipped. These Kings wrote in Akkadian, and the later Kassite, Agukakrimi of the 3rd Dynasty, traced descent from them. There is absolutely no reason to suppose that they were Semitic, and the god of Pontus, Babylon and Cappadocia was then the same, the word meaning probably ‘rainer’ (Turkish *su* ‘water’ or ‘stream’).

Prof. Ramsay found south-west of Comana, a new text and sculpture of the same class, at Fraktin. In this case a king or god sits before an altar on which an eagle perches, and a priest stands before him pouring a libation. Three figures of Hittite type, and a small temple, are carved behind the king on the left. The inscription is *SI-UN SAR-UNU UN ZOVO*, ‘The

god Zovo, Lord of the place, the city Sar.' This was the old name of the modern Shar, with its temple of Comana, which lies not far away to the North-East. The god *Zovo* or *Suvu* is probably here represented by his eagle, unless the seated figure be the god himself.

Among the new seals found by M. Chantre one bears the name of *Targon*, the enemy of Tarkudimme. Another (which has been printed upside down by mistake) represents a ship with sails and oars. The text appears to read *Us Tarsu-us-ne*, 'King of Tarsus,' and the maritime symbol of this seaside city in Cilicia is appropriate, and is at present unique. The seal was found at Sungurlu, in the centre of Asia Minor, but such objects are often found far from their original home.

Another great centre full of Hittite remains is at Malatiya, west of the Upper Euphrates in Armenia. Thence comes a seal which may be read, *Mu Si-pi Makh Zabu-ra dim a* : 'This is the seal of Zabu, prince of the place.' There are two other texts here, one of which contains probably the name of Tarkudimme. Both are short, and in both the first eight emblems are the same and occur in the same order, thus giving a clear indication of the beginning of certain words which follow and which are different. Both of these texts may have belonged to the same series of sculptures, but the site still awaits serious excavation. One represents a seated king-priest with a lituus and a cup in his hands, and an altar with offerings in front. Opposite him is a prince or king standing, and holding a sceptre and cup. The text may be read as follows: *Ka-ni-ne E-si UN Kas-ka Ud-ga Un-ip tur-lu du-ga SI-Aka-ka Kas-ye-lu a-ne-ka Ka-ak te-ka*. 'Here is the Kaska Lord (?) the King * having come with his son, sacrificing to the high place performs the worship thereof.' The Kaska tribe, it may be remarked, are known to have lived close to Malatiya, as mentioned in later Assyrian texts.

The second text from the 'Lion mound' close by, connects Tarkudimme once more with Zabu, in as far as the seal of the latter has been found on the spot. The copy available is not

* *Ud-ga* or *Tam-ga* may be a proper name, or may mean 'on the day of conquest,' or again 'to the sun. The second sign is not quite clear.'

quite clear, but appears to read: *Ka-ni-ne E-si Un Kas-ka Ip-ra-a Khu-un du-lu Khul-pi dim-gam. Tarko-dim-us Us su Kar-man-ni La bi (tar?) su ne gar-lu-ke-ka*, 'He here before the temple the Kaska lord being King of the region, as having conquered the foe, *Tarkodimus* the strong man of *Karman*, fixes this tablet, causing the inscription to be cut.' This may be explained either to mean that the Kaska lord had conquered Tarkodimus of Karman (Karaman in Lycaonia) and was sacrificing on return; or the foe may be unnamed, and Tarkodimus be himself the worshipper, and the 'hero' of Karman on account of his victory there, as before noticed.

It is remarkable that the antiquities which have recently been dug up at Tell es Safi, in Philistia, by Mr. Bliss, are in some cases very closely similar to those found by M. Chantre in Capadocia, and seem to be quite as old. Seals with designs showing gods and sacred trees, in the Akkadian style, have been here recovered; and the pottery presents the same patterns, including bird forms and a sort of Maltese cross, which mark the pottery excavated at Eyuk and elsewhere, and are attributed to the Hittite race of the north. At Lachish, also, a seal occurs, in connection with Egyptian seals of about 1500 B.C., and bearing a clear Hittite text: *Nun Mo-tur dim-pi*, 'The seal of Lord Motur.' This name is well known as a Hittite name in the time of Rameses II. From these discoveries we may conclude that the same Hittite civilisation which existed in the North was found also in the South, at an early period—probably before 1600 B.C., when Thothmes III. drove the Hittites north after the victory of Megiddo, where the King of Kadesh was conquered. This agrees with the Bible statement that Hittites lived in Hebron in Abraham's time (Gen. xxiii. 5); and the seals which have been described as 'Babylonian' are probably Canaanite work, though none of them, unfortunately, bear any inscription to make this clear. It is possible, however, that, any day, such inscriptions in cuneiform, or in Hittite, may be found in Philistia in ruins of such antiquity, and there is every reason to suppose that the Mongol population extended to Egypt itself, where the Hyksos kings worshipped no Egyptian god, but only *Set*, the Hittite god of 'fire.' The old name of

Jerusalem (Jebus) appears to be Hittite. The Amorites called the place *Uru-Salim*, 'the abode of peace,' as early as the fifteenth century B.C., but *Yeb-us* meant the same in Akkadian—from *Eb*, 'house,' and *us*, 'safety;' the Turkish *Eb*, 'house,' and *us*, 'confidence.' From at least 2300 B.C., the Semitic and Akkadian races appear, all over Western Asia, to have lived side by side under Mongol kings.

These conclusions may be further supported by the names of kings mentioned at Merâsh and at Hamath. In the first case we find notice of *Zo-mo-e-bi*, probably the Babylonian *Suruabi* or *Sumuabi*. In the second place we find the name *Zovelun*, which may be compared with that of *Suvulan*, the son of the preceding. These texts are, in appearance, among the oldest Hittite inscriptions, and appear to belong to the twenty-third century B.C. The shortest of the Hamath texts may be read as follow:—

‘*Bis-me Na-re-me-lu En-u Kas-sa-lu ka.*
Ke-gam-ven ne-ak. Nun ko ne-gu gu ke-man
mo-ka-gu. Nun-pi mo ak re-ka En-u ak
a-ne-re. Nun-Nun Zo (MELUN) til-ka ke-e-ke-me.’

‘With salutation uttered to the conquering Lord, as being his conquest, speaking for the King being told so to say, for the sake of the King,* whose servant I—a lord serving him—am, King *Zomelun*, this is carved.’

This is given as a specimen of many other texts which can be read quite consecutively; and from others at Hamath it appears that the name of the Prince, who thus erects votive inscriptions in honour of the second King of Babylon, was *To-tar*, which is well known from Egyptian sources to have been a Hittite name. The new discoveries of M. Chantre agree perfectly with the date and the conditions thus suggested, and wherever the copy is reliable there should be little doubt as to the general meaning of a Hittite text. At Aleppo, for instance, a text, now destroyed, contained very clearly the name of the writer, *Eri-Aku*; but it would be too much to assume that this was the Arioich

* *Tilka*, rendered 'for the sake,' is literally 'for the life.' This is a common expression in the Kassite texts of Nippur, meaning that the God is implored to preserve the life of the person stated.

whom Amraphel finally defeated, since it was probably a common name. The date, however, suggests that it is not impossible, as the Kings of Elam were 'Lords of the West' in the twenty-second century B.C. A Hittite seal from near Merâsh, published by M. Hogarth, reads very clearly, *Am-mi-za-du-ga Nun Ba-bi-lun*, 'Ammizaduga, the Babylonian King;' and as there is reason to suppose that this King conquered even Damascus about 2000 B.C., it is not surprising that his name should occur in Syria. In this case the writing is of later character than that of the Hamath texts, which are some three centuries earlier, if the names of the kings are rightly read. The use of the cuneiform by the Hittites dates from at least the fifteenth century B.C., when they seem to have abandoned their old script in favour of one commonly used in that age all over Western Asia, and known also in Egypt; which again confirms the antiquity of the texts, as the cuneiform was in turn superseded by the alphabet in the tenth century B.C. or earlier.

The alphabet itself appears to have grown out of the later form of the Hittite script, as adopted by the Phœnicians who dwelt among these Syrian tribes of Mongol race, but who were themselves Semitic. They used only twenty-two letters, whereas the Greeks had originally twenty-seven, and the Lycians even thirty-three, most of which are pretty easily traced to the signs of the Hittites in M. Chantre's new text. So permanent was the result of the simple forms thus developed, that the Roman letters are still the same that are recognisable in the syllables of the new Hittite tablet from Cappadocia, in the instances of E, Z, H, K, and T, and are easily recognised by tracing them through the early Greek in other cases. The Greeks had many alphabets, some derived directly from Phœnicia; but they clearly took their extra letters from some other source—as the names show—and, like the Etruscans (whom Dr. Isaac Taylor has shown to have been of Mongolic stock), they derived these from non-Semitic script. The great Ionian alphabet, which finally superseded other Greek systems, sprang up in Asia Minor itself, and was taken directly from the native script, and not from the Phœnician. Thus the Greek letters sometimes pre-

serve the original forms more closely than the Semitic alphabets, and the same may be said of the Etruscan. The Greek names for letters often differ entirely from the Phœnician, yet both preserve the meaning of the original sign in the Akkadian tongue. Thus *α* is the old word for 'bull,' which in Phœnician was *aleph*, and *ab* for 'house'—Phœnician *Bitu*. The letter *G* was a 'crook,' which in Phœnician was *geemel*, but in Akkadian, *gam*, whence the Greek *gamma*. The sign for *L* was originally a yoke; and in Akkadian *Lam-da* means the 'plough-yoke.' The letter *S* was called *shin* ('tooth') in Phœnician, but in Greek *sigma*—the Akkadian *sig-ma*, 'that which bites,' and the original emblem in Hittite is a tooth; and the same principle applies throughout; for when the Greek names differ from the Phœnician they follow the Akkadian name of the sign, showing how much the Mongol population must have influenced Greece—a conclusion to which many scholars have of late been driven, by the similarity between the native art and that of the oldest remains found at Mycenæ, Tiryns, and Troy.

The history of Hittite speech is further traceable in the letter of Tarkhundara, King of Arzapi, found in the Tell Amarna collection, and dating from the fifteenth century B.C., being addressed to Amenophis III. of Egypt. The land *Arzapi* is supposed to represent Rezeph, north of Palmyra, and near the Euphrates. This is confirmed by the notice of the land *Ikatai* in the same letter; for we have an independent mention of this region by a writer of the time of Rameses II. in Egypt. He speaks of it in connection with Aleppo, and with the land of the Hittites, so that it clearly lay near Rezeph, in north-eastern Syria. It is mentioned, also, in other letters of the age, and the fact that this letter is Hittite is shown by a distinct notice in it of the tribute sent by 'the prince ruling the Hittites.' The language is exactly the same found in all M. Chantre's new tablets, and the translation appears to be somewhat as follows:—

'This letter is to Amenophis III., the great King, King of Egypt, from Tarkhundara, King of Arzapi. My region is at peace. My cities, my wives, my sons, my officers, my soldiers, my cavalry, all that is mine in the lands let them be at peace. To say also let there be peace likewise, to thy cities, thy wives, thy sons, thy officers, thy soldiers, thy cavalry,

to whatever is thine in thy lands, let there be peace. To thee, my Lord, the chief *Irsappa* is sent by me, a messenger in speed, protecting thy daughter, O My Sun God, the Lady I have to send. The subject chief is sent again to-day, behold. My Lord, he bears a bag of gold as a peace offering to the King of this region. For this reason he was despatched by me, hereafter to say to the ruler of the region what I have given him. This messenger also is trusted to make haste, after being sent with speed, with that which I have to give him. To thee, the Sun-King, I have to send her whom I send ; as a protector thus of thy daughter, the messenger I send thus is protecting thy messenger ; any great person in a city of mine—one of my princes—expediting the women folk to a land subject to thee. So may they be sent on. The Hittite King commanding the Land of *Ikatai* sends thee the precious wood which is (due ?) to the ruler of the region (As herein much grows ?). *Irsappa*, the swift messenger, bears a bag of gold ; by weight of . . . shekels, twenty Manahs of gold ; three pounds of ivory, three pounds of (copper ?), three pounds of . . . eight pounds of . . ., one hundred pounds of beaten tin ; one hundred pounds of . . ., one hundred pounds of . . . ; four very precious stones, six precious stones . . . of good brilliance, three thrones of *Pana* wood. . . . ten chairs of strong wood, polished . . . all which . . . ten wooden . . . he bears.'

This probably refers to the sending on of Tadukhepa, the daughter-in-law of Amenophis III., through Syria from her father's home in Armenia, with presents from the intermediate Hittite chief of Rezeph, who addresses the Pharaoh, as usual at that time, as a 'Sun God,' and apparently owns his suzerainty, Syria having been conquered a century earlier by Thothmes III., although the Hittites of Merâsh, further north, seem never to have been entirely subdued. A letter of no less than 508 lines, in the same language, also exists, sent at the same time by Dusratta of Matiene, in Armenia—Tadukhepa's father—to Amenophis III., when she was despatched to Egypt. It contains about four hundred words of the language common to the Hittites and Kassites, and Armenians in this age, and describes all the political arrangements connected with the marriage, including the boundary drawn between Dusratta's kingdom and the Empire of Egypt in Syria, which left Rezeph and *Ikatai* within the limits of the latter. This letter thus forms a vocabulary most valuable for study of the Hittite and Cappadocian texts.

These arrangements were upset in the next few years, by an invasion of Phœnicia by the Hittites of Merâsh and the Amorites, after the death of Amenophis III. A former invasion had been joined by Artasumara, Dusratta's brother, by the Kassites of Babylon, and by the Amorites, but after extending to Sidon had been defeated, by the alliances made by Amenophis III. with the new king of Matiene—Dusratta, and of Babylon—Burnaburias, who were both allied to him by marriage. In the later revolt, which coincided with the appearance of the Hebrews in Palestine within some few years, the Merâsh Hittites were unaided by Armenia or Babylonia, but were joined by Edugama, the Hittite King of Kadesh on Orontes, and advanced to Damascus, and to the countries *Am* and *Uba*, probably the Ham and Hobah of the Bible, near that city. Fighting near Ashtaroth-Karnaim in Bashan is mentioned, and Palestine was lost by Amenophis IV. Thus, as noticed in the Bible, the Hebrews found the Amorites established—in consequence of this revolution—not only in Bashan and Gilead, but even in Moab, where they had defeated the Moabites, driving them into Edom, south of the Arnon.

The Hittites remained independent for a century, until attacked by Rameses II., with whom the King of Kadesh made an alliance which lasted in Mineptah's reign. We hear nothing of them for some three centuries except in the Bible, where we learn that they still ruled in Kadesh on Orontes down to the age of David, and were powerful in North Syria in the time of Solomon. The next chapter of their history is found in Assyrian records, and in thirteen tablets recovered by M. Chantre at Pterium in North Cappadocia, written in their own language, but, like Tarkhundara's letter, in the cuneiform writing. To understand these we must glance at the history of Assyrian conquests.

In the 12th century B.C. the Semitic Assyrians became powerful. About 1130 B.C. Tiglath Pileser I. acceded in Nineveh; and Nebuchadrezzar I., who was apparently of the Assyrian royal family, had established himself in Babylon, by defeat of the Kassites, in 1154 B.C. The former subdued the Mongol tribes

of Armenia—the Kaska, aided by the Moschians and Hittites. He reached the Mediterranean after taking Carchemish, but in his later years was defeated by Marduk-nadin-akhi, son of the successful Nebuchadrezzar I. A gap occurs in the history, and the next known attack on Syria occurred in 883 B.C., when little resistance was made. Half a century later Shalmaneser II. yet more completely subdued Syria, and advanced through the country of the *Guai*, or 'highlanders' north of Antioch, into Cilicia. He drove the *Kati*, or 'northerners,' who lived in *Kat-bad-uka* (Cappadocia) 'the land of the northmen,' to their mountains, and marched as far as Tarsus. It is probably to this period—830 B.C.—that the tablets found by M. Chantre may be ascribed.

These tablets were excavated in a very broken condition, but they are of high historic value; and, being written in a known character, the sounds of the words are certain, and the translation easy when they are compared with the letters of Tarkhundara and Dusratta, which had already given so large a vocabulary of the same language. They represent the *Kati* in a period of decay, struggling against the Assyrians; and a letter from the Hittites, who were powerless to resist Shalmaneser II., asks help from all the 'distant cities of the *Kati*' country.

There was, about this period, no central authority in the west. The tribes called Kaska, Gamgums, Ligyes, Hittites, Khatinai, *Guai*, *Kati*, and the *Kiti* or 'lowlanders' of Cilicia, were still Mongol, but the younger races were pushing them out of power. On the south the Phœnicians had established themselves at Samalla, north of Antioch, and the princes of Hamath, and of all the towns to its south, were apparently of the Semitic race of the Syrians who ruled Damascus. On the west the Lydians were rising, who were so strong two centuries later that Crœsus destroyed the cities of Cappadocia, and ruined Pterium where so many of the so-called 'Hittite' remains are found. On the east not only were the Assyrians breaking in, but in Matiene the older race was superseded in power by the Medes, whose texts are found near Lake Van. The long tablet from Pterium, which will be found in M. Chantre's volume duly transliterated but

untranslated, represents an alliance, which may have been as early as 1130 B.C., but perhaps as late as 830 or later. The six Syrian tribes of Tokat, Zembus, Ain Tab, Alatis, Amanus, and Alalana, write for assistance to Cappadocia 'against the official bearing sway there, a foreigner—an Assyrian.' The letter is sent to 'the royal abode, the city of *Arinas*,' which appears to be the present *Irane* west of Cæsarea-Mazaca; and it was apparently to be circulated through some forty cities, reaching Pterium in the far north last of all. Among these towns—most of which have broken names—we may distinguish probably Saravena, Sis, and Sar (Comana) already mentioned so often, and also Bor, Yuzgat, Tshorum, Pterium, Budrum, Sara, Hemetiya, and Dedik, all in Cappadocia, and bearing (except Pterium) their old Kati names unchanged almost in the modern Turkish nomenclature of the country.

The remaining tablets of this series are very short letters and reports, by officials and astrologers, which are for the most part much damaged. In No. 2 a certain *Ismuz* ruling Adlana (or perhaps *Addana*, the modern Adana north of Tarsus), writes a complimentary letter to the King, and states that his city is being re-fortified: 'it having been your desire, he has done this, doubly extending the ramparts of the city, having decided so to increase security: the fort by the river is being enlarged, a mound is about to be raised opposite the city.' Nos. 3, 7, and 8 are 'Omen Tablets,' or reports of the omens taken in expectation of a war. In the first of these bad weather is predicted, in the second the sign is unfavourable, in the third it is uncertain. The Kati, it may be noted, retired before the Assyrians to their mountains, and these omens may have decided them to do so. No. 4, in the same language, is a commercial transaction, recording that the debtor had borrowed 60 shekels, and owed 22 in interest on the amount. He sends 80, and says, 'take them as the total.' His correspondent evidently understood the Kati language, of whatever race he may have been. No. 5 text, from *Astas* to *Azzanas*, records a victory, and mentions a town called Katna. No. 6 again speaks of success, at *Zara*, a town in the north. But the remainder of the series speak of revolt and misfortune. No. 9,

from *Katas*, says the local chief is unreliable. No. 10 reports a corrupt official. No. 11 asks for help against a rising in a city called, probably, *Ugma*. No. 12 is a longer letter as to affairs at *Bor* (Tyana), where either a rebellion had broken out, or an attack had driven out the native inhabitants. Reinforcements are demanded, to defend the place whence the letter was sent. No. 13 is much broken, but speaks of a Hittite who fled, whether from or to the *Kati* is not clear. He may have been an enemy, or a refugee from the tyranny of Assyria.

All these new sources of information tally with one another, and confirm the conclusions reached by aid of the sounds already known for Hittite emblems through the Cypriote script, which has been too much neglected by students of Hittite. The main difficulty now is to obtain thoroughly reliable copies of the texts. Those mentioned already are clearly written, but there are many which are decayed and broken, and which have been badly copied. It is remarkable, on comparing two or three drawings of one inscription, to see how differently they are executed, being the work of explorers who were not artists, and who did not know the character familiarly. Many of the published copies are quite wrong in parts, and represent emblems quite unknown in any other cases. The Hittite script consists of one hundred and sixty signs, and as each new text is discovered these signs are found repeated, and many words, common on all the inscriptions, can be now studied in several repetitions, representing various cases of the nouns, and parts of the verb. Some of the early conjectures which scholars have made as to such words or syllables are now shown to be incorrect, and no system which adheres to these disproven ideas can be considered any longer to require consideration. Dr. Jensen's work is not in accord, for instance, with the new indications. It consists entirely in arbitrary assumptions, which Dr. Sayce and Dr. Hommel condemn, and the language required proves not to be Armenian as Jensen had supposed. The texts are some eighteen centuries older than he thought, and the translations which he offers do not give any information which it was worth while to record.

As M. Chantre's work is likely to encourage further explora-

tion, we may yet recover more striking remains than even he has found; but the questions of the Hittite language, of their nationality and history, must now be considered to be practically laid at rest by the information contained in his tablets, and by the confirmation of the longest of these, as read in the Kassite dialect, through comparison with the personal and geographic names and records of events found on the rock sculpture of Cœsarea, as above explained. The language of the Hittites was similar to that of the Kassites, and consisted mainly of very short words, capable of being expressed by two or three syllables at most, and in the commonest cases by monosyllables. Thus a single sign was both a word and a syllable, and could be used for either. *Ma* or *Mi*, 'earth;' *Ta*, 'beat;' *Ga*, 'crook;' *Ko*, 'high;' etc., etc., are words easily traced as Mongolic, and easily recognised as sounds applying to appropriate emblems in Hittite. They are not Aryan or Semitic words, and the Hittite system must have originated among a people speaking a language in which these monosyllabic nouns and verb roots were common. Such a language we find among the neighbouring Kassites and Akkadians, and we find it nowhere else. Hittite was not *sui generis*, but a dialect of a well known and widespread tongue, used by a tribe of a well known and widespread race. Attempts to make an artificial system, distinguishing Hittite from other languages, have always failed because they have been arbitrary, and have run counter to the true comparative method of study, by which alone in this, as in other cases, can results finally acceptable be established.

C. R. CONDER.

ART. VI.—ADMIRAL BAILLIE.

WHEN a man emigrates and enters foreign service, however distinguished his career, it is the rare exception if his country remembers him any more; and it can scarcely be held that such an exception is furnished by the subject of this memoir, the Scotchman Baillie, who died in the Russian service in 1826. There are special reasons why in the present case this forgetfulness should be terminated, for recent discoveries show that at one of the most critical moments of Nelson's history Baillie played a far more important part than has hitherto been dreamt of. Before entering into this field, however, it will be as well to recapitulate the brief sketch of his life, kindly extracted for me by the Keeper of the Archives of the Ministry of Marine at Moscow.

Baillie, we find, was born in 1756, and entered the Russian navy in 1783. He presently obtained the order of S. Vladimir (4th class), and in 1787 was raised to the rank of captain. Early in 1799 he was serving under Admiral Ouschakoff in the Archipelago, and having taken a prominent part in the capture of Zante, Cephalonia, etc., he was rewarded with the order of S. Anne (2nd class). After some operations on the east coast of the Kingdom of Naples, he was despatched with a force of four hundred (afterwards raised to six hundred) to co-operate with Cardinal Ruffo in the royalist recovery of the capital. He gained surprising success against superior forces at Foggia, Troja, Avellino, and finally the capital fell. Baillie's attention was then directed against the forts. 'Castles Nuovo and dell 'Uovo were compelled to capitulate under the fire of the batteries.' In conjunction then with troops landed by Nelson he assisted in the reduction of S. Elmo, his services being rewarded with the orders of S. John of Jerusalem, of S. Ferdinand (from the Sicilian King) and S. Anne (1st class). Nelson wrote to Italinsky, the Russian minister at the Sicilian court, praising Baillie's conduct, and that of his troops, as heroic. For two and a-half years he remained in Naples supporting the royal power. In 1806 we find him again at sea, his successes being rewarded by the order

of S. George (4th class). Then came a period of honourable retirement when there was trouble between Russia and England. And in 1816 he was raised to the rank of Admiral.

Such is the all too brief Russian record of the man who countersigned the much debated capitulation of Castles Nuovo and dell 'Uovo, and, as we shall see, took the most prominent part in carrying that capitulation into execution. Though, as Prince Golitzyn informs me, two diligent searches have been recently made, no supplementary material has been discovered in the Archives of the Foreign Office, either in Moscow or St. Petersburg. That Baillie made a report about the capitulation, either to Italinsky or Ouschakoff, is almost certain, but it seems equally certain that that report has perished.

It is a fortunate thing, then, for Baillie's reputation, that matter has recently come to light in Italy which to some extent supplies the deficiency, proving conclusively, as it does, that on whomsoever the dark shadows of the Naples affair fall, Baillie's conduct was perfectly honourable and straightforward all through. The picture left is a fragmentary one, but there is sufficient of it to be quite intelligible.

Some days after the fall of Naples the garrisons of Nuovo and dell 'Uovo opened negotiations for surrender on the basis of an amnesty. Those who chose were to be at liberty to return to their homes unmolested, and the others were to sail to Toulon in transports specially provided. The evacuation of the forts was to take place as soon as the transports were ready. The garrisons further stipulated that in their capitulation the representatives of the *allied powers* should participate, 'for they did not trust sufficiently in Cardinal Ruffo, or the King.'* Baillie raised no objection to the terms, or to countersigning them.† Far from having received any instructions from his superiors, Italinsky and Ouschakoff, prohibiting a composition with the republicans, he must have been aware that such injunctions as had been given from St.

* So says Nardini in his *Memorial*, written in 1799. This was published in Paris three years later under the title *Mémoires par B. N. témoin oculaire*. *Vide* p. 199.

† *Arch. stor. nap. XXIV. Fasc. IV., p. 457.*

Petersburg were on the side of mildness and clemency.* The massacring and pillaging that were going on in Naples (for Ruffo's Calabrians and the lazzaroni were altogether beyond control); the incendiary fires; the threats, no vain ones, of undermining and explosion from the besieged republicans, some of whom were desperate and rabid; still more, the imminent danger of the arrival of the French fleet,—all these circumstances left the representatives of the allied powers little ground, even if they had the inclination, of raising objection † when the above-mentioned terms had been accepted by Ruffo, the King's viceroy, and also by Micheroux, who was acting in the capacity of diplomatic plenipotentiary. Accordingly, after several conferences, and due consideration, ‡ Captain Baillie and his colleagues (Commodore Foote for England and Achmet, leader of a Turkish contingent) set their hands to the terms which Ruffo and Micheroux had agreed to.

The task of carrying out the evacuation was, by special arrangement with the garrisons, entrusted to Baillie and his six hundred Russians, who were already on the spot.§ This was natural, for the Russian troops were the only ones available whose discipline could be relied upon.

On the morning of June 23rd—the exact dates are now becoming crucially important—the capitulation was completed, and, in accordance with articles 8 and 9, the hostages in the castles

* *Vide Maresca's Micheroux*, p. 209.

† *Arch. stor. nap. XXIV.* Fasc. IV., p. 458.

‡ One may notice in passing that a totally unwarranted attempt was made by Nicholas in the forties (and his attempt has recently been repeated) to prove that Foote did not intend to sign as a principal, and showed this by his carelessness in not sending a delegate to take part in the negotiations. The truth of the matter seems to be that he attached such importance to the affair that he, like Baillie, attended in person (*Arch. stor. nap. XXIV.* Fasc. IV., p. 459). In his *Vindication* he did not mention this conference for the simple reason that no such charge of carelessness had yet been thought of. And for the same reason it would seem that he passed over some correspondence with Micheroux (*Arch. stor. nap.* Fasc. IV., pp. 457-8). The argument from silence is proverbially precarious.

§ *Vide Maresca's Micheroux*, p. 193.

(except four sent to St. Elmo) and the English prisoners were at once released. The number of transports ready was not yet sufficient, but while the exodus of the non-emigrants was going on, and preparations were being made for departure, the garrisons probably felt the need of protection from the Calabrians. Accordingly 'they requested that the Russian troops should invest and surround all the approaches of Nuovo and the (adjoining) Palace.' *

On the 24th Micheroux wrote to Admiral Ouschakoff acknowledging the invaluable services rendered by Baillie, praising the admirable humanity and discipline of his troops, and announcing the successful issue :—' We are masters of all the forts except St. Elmo. . . . At this moment the fleet, under Admiral Nelson, comes into Port.' † Nelson, as soon as he arrived, declared his disapproval of the terms that had been granted as injurious to the royal dignity. Rightly or wrongly, he held that Ruffo had exceeded his powers, and that the capitulation, was consequently illegal. He declared his intention of forcing the garrisons to surrender at once unconditionally.

Baillie's condition was now intolerable. He believed that in signing the capitulation as he had done, he had acted well within his power; moreover, he knew that its terms had been partly executed, and that it was in consequence of the capitulation that he was in strategical possession of Nuovo. Under these circumstances he and his co-signatory, Achmet, wrote to Nelson, protesting that in their judgment the capitulation was 'useful, necessary, and honourable to the arms of the allied powers; ' that, 'as it was solemnly concluded by the representatives of the said powers, it would be committing an abominable outrage against public faith if it should not be executed exactly; ' and declared that 'they were firmly resolved to execute it religiously.' ‡ Nelson contented himself with replying that he

* *Arch. stor. nap. XXIV.*, Fasc. IV., p. 459. cf. Pepe's *Memoirs*, I., p. 105, and Botta's *Storia d'Italia*, III., p. 402.

† British Museum Add. MSS. 34912.

‡ *Sacchinelli*, p. 251.

would have the same respect for the Czar's honour as for that of his own Sovereign. And his next steps made it clear in what sense his words were to be understood. He sent in a note informing the garrisons that he would not permit them to embark or return to their homes. They must surrender to the royal mercy. And he gave Ruffo his written opinion that the capitulation 'ought not to be carried into execution without the approbation of his Sicilian Majesty.'

Baillie, however, stuck to his position firmly. In his eyes the capitulation was still 'sacred and inviolable.'* Such being the case, Ruffo wrote into Nuovo reminding the garrison that though Nelson could prevent their embarking, he could not prevent their leaving by land.† Baillie's co-operation was obviously implied; but the garrison refused the offer. The fact seems to have been that those who did not wish to emigrate had quitted the castle already.

One more resource still remained to Baillie. If Nelson chose to impede the capitulation and coerce the *capitolati*, obviously it was only right that the *status quo* should be restored. Accordingly, at about 8 A.M. on the 26th, Ruffo and Baillie sent in a joint note to both garrisons informing them of the position of affairs, and announcing that under the circumstances the Russian troops were being withdrawn. Accompanying this note, that the garrisons might make no mistake about the situation, was a copy of Nelson's above-mentioned 'opinion.'‡ At the same time Ruffo sent a sort of ultimatum to Nelson, announcing what he

* *Sacchinelli*, pp. 252-3.

† *Ibid.*

‡ In the *Athenaeum* of April 21, I notice that Professor J. K. Laughton confounds this joint note of Baillie's and Ruffo's (which was sent in at 8 A.M. on the morning of the 26th in order to open the eyes of the garrisons, and divest the senders of responsibility) with the minatory note which, as said before, Nelson, acting entirely on his own account, had sent into the castles on the 25th. The mistake is not unimportant, for, when the true facts are recognised, it is obvious that we have here a proof that Baillie and Ruffo were anxious to prevent any misunderstanding on the part of the garrisons, and to act towards them in every respect fairly and squarely.

was doing, and adding that in order to restore the *status quo* he would make further withdrawals.*

And now comes the really critical point in the whole transaction—critical for the reputation of everyone concerned. Whether it was the withdrawal of the Russians, or the frightful panic that consequently broke out in Naples, or the news of the disaster to the Royalist arms at Capua, which rendered immediate expedition necessary—whatever was the cause, in two hours or thereabouts a complete change had come over the situation. ‘At about 10 A.M.’ writes Micheroux, ‘his Eminence wrote to me that Lord Nelson, having consented to put the capitulation in effect, I must replace the Russian troops in the evacuated positions. In proof of this, his Eminence sent me as urgent the enclosed documents of Lord Nelson’s for the security of the garrisons.’†

What these documents were is a question belonging rather to Nelson’s biography than Baillie’s. Suffice it here that as far as one can judge they appeared quite satisfactory to Micheroux. His demeanour was such that the garrisons did not ask to see them, but trusted to his mere word.‡ Presumably they also appeared satisfactory to Baillie, for he returned to his previous commanding position, and presently proceeded to accord the departing garrison of heroes the honours of war in accordance with article 3 of the capitulation.§

‘Some friends were breakfasting with me at Chiaja,’ so relates an anonymous reporter, presumably to be identified with a certain Mr. Harriman, ‘when the Commander of the Russian forces was announced (his name I think was Baillie, and he was nephew of a Scotchman who commanded the Russian Navy). He informed us that Nelson appeared more calm and quiet, and had directed him to carry out the capitulation according to the terms agreed upon, at which we all rejoiced; but this proved to be only a *ruse*, for the ships on board of which the garrisons had

* *Sacchinelli*, p. 254.

† *Arch. stor. nap.* XXIV., Fasc. IV., p. 460.

‡ *Ibid.*

§ H. M. Williams’ *Sketches*, II., pp. 320-1. Cf. *Ragguaglio storico-critico*, by D. G. Vivenzio, Naples 1799, p. 9.

embarked in the expectation of being taken to Toulon, were fastened astern of the English ships.*

Such authority is too weak to justify us in concluding that Nelson communicated with Baillie directly. The latter may simply have got his orders through Micheroux. But there is this important fact to be borne in mind, that as Nelson had been forced to send in his note to the garrisons by himself (Ruffo having definitely refused to act as an intermediary), so, now that there was a change of plan, and embarkation not preceded by an act of surrender was to be no longer opposed, it was necessary to communicate directly with them again if a misunderstanding were to be avoided. But it is as certain as certain can be, from the whole subsequent attitude of the capitolati, that though Nelson's two delegates, Captains Troubridge and Ball, did visit the castles on the 26th, they gave no intimation that the change of plan was merely formal, and that, though permitting them to embark, Nelson would not permit them to sail.

Thus there was good reason for Baillie to be deceived, as well as the republicans themselves. And further evidence that this was the case is furnished by what followed. On June 29 the republican leaders memorialised him and the other signatories of the capitulation as to the infraction that was taking place, infraction of a capitulation which in their view had been conclusively executed on the 26th;† and though Baillie's response is not forthcoming, yet we still have a notice which indicates what must have been his sentiments. For on August 17, 1799, we find the Neapolitan Diarist writing:—‘To-day it is said that the Russian Commandant has announced that either the capitulation must be respected, or that he would retire with his troops, for he could

* *The Nelson Coat*, edited by Evans, 1846. I should not venture to quote from such an untrustworthy source (for the editor only claims that his materials were ‘furnished by a gentleman (anonymous) who had them from the (anonymous) eye-witness himself,’ and the narrative is mostly absurd; but as there was no printed source in 1846 from which the rôle played by Baillie could have been deduced, it seems probable that here we have a genuine reminiscence, however suspiciously it filtered down).

† *Sacchinelli*, pp. 262-4.

not permit the execution of people who, trusting in his word, had surrendered and capitulated.*

Such is the story of Baillie, unhappy in being not only signatory, but also prime executor of the violated capitulation. On whom the shame of the whole transaction rests, and whether the misunderstanding under which the garrisons evacuated their forts was the result of bungling or design, are questions recently discussed at length in my pamphlet *Nelson at Naples*, and I desire here to raise nothing that is in any way controversial. My aim has only been to record facts about a brave sailor whose career was brilliant enough to merit something other than oblivion, and whose name deserves to be freed from any suspicion of duplicity or dishonour.

F. P. BADHAM.

ART. VII.—THE REDUNDANCY OF SPINSTER GENTLEWOMEN.

The Modern Marriage Market (a Symposium). 2nd Edition.
London : Hutchinson & Co.

AMONG the many social questions of the day, which are exercising the imaginations and pens of our modern army of writers, there is one which seems latterly to have aroused considerable interest, especially in the feminine world. This is the alleged growing redundancy of unmarried gentlewomen in this country. In the present paper I propose to discuss (1) the asserted fact, (2) admitting the fact, the apparent or probable causes which have brought it about, and (3) whether this redundancy can be anywise remedied or diminished.

That there is a great and increasing numerical disproportion between the sexes in the *monde* of to-day, concomitantly with a

* *Arch. stor. nap.* XXIV. Fasc. III., p. 282.

certain decline of marriage, is without doubt a belief very widely disseminated. It is taken for granted in many of the women's periodicals. And we shall quote some statistical figures, which unquestionably seem to bear out the general impression, as to, at all events, the surplusage of unattached gentlewomen.

In an able paper contributed a few years ago to a leading monthly,* Miss Clara Collet worked out some curious comparisons of sex numbers founded upon the census of 1881. At that time, it would appear, for every 100 males, there were in England and Wales 105, and in London as a whole, 112 females.† But in Kensington, a quarter of the metropolis where the well-to-do classes so largely congregate, the increased proportion of women is startling. Here (disregarding the decimals), between the ages of twenty and twenty-five in either sex, the percentage of females was 196, or nearly double the number of males. From twenty-five to thirty years of age, the ratio was 187, and between thirty and thirty-five it was 172 women, to 100 men. Coming now to the relative numbers of married and unmarried women, we find that while over all England and Wales the spinsters *en masse* stood as 178 to 100 women married, in Kensington the disproportion rose to 256 per cent. Continuing the comparison of wedded and unwedded into groups per age, the figures become still more significant. For, while naturally in the first lustre after quitting their teens, our all-England maidens would still largely predominate over their married sisters—(the ratio was a little over two to one)—in Kensington they were 540 unwed to 100 wives, or more than five to one.

Among those aged in the next decade, twenty-five to thirty-five years, the proportion, of course, takes a great jump down. Here it is only 134 spinsters for 100 married, but even so in this period of life the West End bachelor-women still considerably outnumber the married. In the succeeding crucial ten years, when a woman has reached middle life and, if single, has nearly exhausted her

* *Prospects of Marriage for Women*, by Clara E. Collet. *XIXth Century*, April, 1892.

† According to Mr. Holt Schooling, the 1891 Census gives the same number for London, but 106 females for England and Wales.

matrimonial expectations, the contrast between the spinsterhood of the country generally and that of the Kensingtonian suburb is intensified. For during this age-term there were in England and Wales only twenty single women to every hundred wives, while in Kensington the proportion of the former was more than trebled, standing at 62 to 100 of the latter! These figures certainly seem to point to a serious disproportion of the sexes, or to other anomalous conditions, or to a mixture of both.

But these numerals do not, till we come to analyse them, represent the real import of the case, or the actual overplus of gentlewomen in the West End. Miss Collet clearly demonstrates that in the educated middle-class the surplus of women over men is far above the average. She takes Shoreditch and Bethnal Green in London as fairly representative of a working-class district without any upper middle-grade. In these two parishes, the proportions being almost alike for each, for every hundred married women there are only eleven to twelve spinsters. Now note the remarkable contrast in the West End. Of the population (270,000 in 1881) of Kensington, including Paddington, seventy per cent. are estimated to belong to the working class. This leaves thirty per cent. of better-class families, with their domestic servants. But we saw above that this district contains within the age 35-45 sixty-two spinsters to every hundred married women. How many, then, of these sixty-two must we apportion to the upper and middle rank, and how many to the ranks below? We may put it thus. The Kensington wives stand in the ratio of seventy working-class to thirty of the higher class. Taking the Shoreditch figures for the operatives' grade, eleven and a-half single to 100 married, it results, roughly speaking, that to every seventy working-class wives in Kensington we may assign eight spinsters. Consequently, to the remaining thirty wives of the middle and gentle orders we must perforce assign the unmarried balance, that is, 54 spinsters! So then, in the age between thirty-five and forty-five there are fifty-four single women inhabiting the Kensington district, to set against thirty of their sisters who have entered into wedlock. Even excluding count of the domestic servants, at that age the number of spinsters in the servant-employing (i.e., the lower middle and

upper middle) classes of Kensington exceeds the number of married women.

Take yet a further comparison—the relative number of bachelors and spinsters aged thirty-five to forty-five in different localities of our great metropolis. Shoreditch, a poor man's habitat, shows the numbers about equal. In the Stepney and Poplar quarters the men outnumber the women. Ascending in the social scale, the females of Islington are 165 per cent. of the males, in Camberwell 200, in Hackney 230. In Lewisham the percentage of women rises to 325, in Hampstead to 366; while in Kensington, the highest average given, for every hundred unmarried men there are no less than 378 unmarried women.

Another curious fact is supplied by Miss Collet, bringing out the regrettable prevalence of early marriages among the poorer London folk. This is the percentage of girls married under twenty-one years of age. In Hampstead these number only nine per hundred; in Kensington thirteen; while in Mile End Old Town and Bethnal Green, both resorts of the meaner sort, the proportion mounts respectively to twenty-six and thirty-five per hundred. The compiler of these statistics notices the complaint of some that self-supporting women are less attractive than they otherwise would be, but urges in fair retort that it is somewhat ridiculous 'to expect a hundred women to devote their energies to attracting fifty men!'

Mr. Holt Schooling in his 1891 census enumerations gives us one or two further figures, which may interest the lady readers of these pages. Out of every thousand spinsters who marry, more than half do so between the ages of twenty and twenty-four. One-fourth of the thousand wed within the next five years, twenty-five to thirty. After thirty to this side of thirty-five the number drops heavily, being only seventy-three per thousand. In the succeeding quinquennate it sinks to twenty-six; and after forty years of age there are but twenty spinsters in every thousand, or one in fifty, who reach matrimony. He further finds that bachelors ranging in age from twenty-five to thirty-four prefer to marry women between twenty and twenty-nine, while men aged from thirty-five to thirty-nine, and in the

latter half of the fifties, incline to women ten years younger. So much for statistics.

One might quote many women-writers who accept the fact of the redundancy of women in the upper social strata of our country. We are, writes Lady Jeune, 'a community where the female element is largely in excess of the male.' 'Take a middle-class family of girls,' says Mrs. Flora Steel, 'nice girls, good girls, pretty girls. Half of them cannot hope to marry.' Over twenty years ago Mrs. Sutherland Orr, remarking on the then large class of supernumerary women and the increasing rarity of marriages, warned us that 'the falling-off in the possible number of English husbands is itself a complex fact deeply rooted in the conditions of our modern English life.' Another lady, the Hon. Coralie Glynn, recently advanced the view 'that Nature has her nuns as well as the Churches, and that these women are at present a largely increasing body.' She rather hails the advent of 'these Nature's nuns, this race of physically passive and of mentally neutralised women, which form such a feature of our modern womanhood.' 'In those Bee and Ant communities,' she adds, 'whose excellent laws are ever being held up for our admiration, we know that the neuters—*i.e.*, the non-child-bearing insects—perform many of the most indispensable duties of the commonwealth. And may not our latter-day women draw a not unfitting parallel from them?'

Accepting, then, the fact of the redundancy of the female sex among our better classes, it almost follows as a corollary that marriage in these classes must be falling off. That is to say, the redundancy and the decline of marriage may be viewed as interdependent facts. And so we are led to ask ourselves the probable causes at the root of this dual disorder in the body politic, for that both these conditions constitute a grave social disorder and anomaly is hardly disputable. Most of us will agree with Sir Walter Besant that 'everything is bad in an economic sense which tends to prevent marriage, it being the great safeguard of our national life.'

There is, to begin with, the increasing dearth of marriageable males. In these days, young men of the better classes are finding it more and more difficult to get employment at home.

Every father and mother of a family in the professional and upper-middle walks of life will tell you the same tale as to this. Of our sons many go to India. Others in large numbers find their way to the colonies, where the average young gentleman from the fatherland seeking work may be thankful if he succeeds in earning one-half the wage of a skilled artisan. But go oversea he does all the same. And there he may remain for years or altogether; or should he float home again like a fragment of broken driftwood, as so many do, it is all one as far as his marriageable utilities to the community are concerned. For in the former case he is one male unit abstracted from society, and in the latter he only returns to his relations to swell the ranks of the 'detrimentals,' to whom matrimony is a barred luxury.

In this country, again, the rates of living and the style of living conventionally imposed upon the young Benedict are so high that the bachelor has now begun to count the cost and to abstain from offering himself in marriage. Besides, the competition for the various branches of work an educated gentleman starting in life cares to accept is enormous. The artistic avenues are all terribly overcrowded. Except for a successful few at the top there is barely a living, and that a precarious one, to be made out of literature, music, pictorial art, or the stage. With the more part of the votaries of these callings, it is an incessant struggle for existence and daily bread. Barristers are largely briefless, and can seldom reckon on obtaining a marriageable competency till well on into middle life. The clergy are worse off still, though somehow they manage to wive on the most attenuated resources, partly on the plea (which is probably in a measure true) that the usefulness of a parish pastor is enhanced by his being wed. Young gentlemen employees of the Government offices are notoriously an impecunious class. And so for the most part are the officers of the army and navy. Their habits of life, too, are unhappily much more costly than their scanty pay, plus allowances from parents, warrants; and they are constantly being moved about from place to place, which means heavy expense to the married. Consequently they of the 'Services' are compelled usually to eschew matrimony, and prefer to amuse themselves with the maidens of the

many well-placed families into which they are bid welcome; or preferentially with the younger married sirens, whose 'at homes' largely depend for their success upon the presence of these wearers of Her Majesty's uniform. Moreover, it is being sorrowfully brought home to us that in modern warfare this our country may have to sustain heavy and disproportionate losses among the flower of its manhood, which again is a factor affecting the marriageable ratio of the sexes. Probably the lawyers, doctors, and what are known as 'business men,' stockbrokers, accountants, bank officials, partners and managers in mercantile houses, and such like, soonest amass money, and are most addicted to matrimony. But, at best, it results that a large proportion of the males of the more cultured class in these isles find the stress of their requirements for maintenance such that marriage is out of their reach, except they light upon a woman possessed of substantial means of her own. 'The higher standard of comfort,' writes Lady Jeune, a well-known authority on social topics, in the treatise named at head of this article, 'which modern society requires, without any superfluities, makes marriage more difficult than formerly.'

Another point which makes for bachelorhood is the elaboration of the modern system of club life. Living in apartments, with all the conveniences, not to say luxuries, of his club, or even with the cuisine of any of the superior restaurants available in our larger towns, our young professional gentleman with a very moderate income can command a good average of comfort. In an age when dining has been elevated into a fine art, and public resorts of amusement are multiplied, he has acquired the critical tastes of a *bon vivant*, and a craving for out-of-home diversions, into the nature of some of which it is perhaps best not to pry too closely. An income triple or quadruple what he now spends on himself as a bachelor sybarite would hardly suffice to run a married establishment on the same easy plane of luxurious *bien-être*. For, the irreducible minimum demanded of the Society married man in the way of menage is costly; and even within the last few years, says an authoritative London daily, 'manners have changed, and the love of pleasure and luxury has grown

with the rapidity of Jack's beanstalk.' The Horatian maxim—*Quae virtus et quanta sit vivere parvo*—may be all very well to preach to rustics and the meaner folk, but who of the well-to-do in these days live up to it?

All this, it is clear, operates against the modern gentle-sister, and tends to reduce the available supply of men likely to ask her in marriage. It is in fact too true, as a lady put it to me the other day with much point—that in our class of life 'there are not prospective husbands enough, even indifferent ones, to go round.' Hence ensue two results among the young women. One is an intense competition to secure male partners, which is bad both for the competitor and the competed for; the latter over-appraising himself and prone to lose not only his head but his manners. The other result is seen in those ladies who for one reason or another fail in the competition. These are given to put on an affectation of exaggerated independence, an air of indifference to what the male sex may think of them by way of self-defence to cover their failure.

Mainly out of these causes, it seems probable, has sprung the modern athletic young woman of the leisured classes, almost wholly given up to outdoor pastimes of a more or less robust and muscular character. In despair of shining socially on her feminine side, or from malaise, or what not—in a few cases perhaps from an unnatural preponderance of the sheer masculine in her blood—she casts aside the usual role of woman, and tries to take on that of the other sex. Moreover, it is to be noted by the observant that this silly assimilation of male manners and male sports is more cultivated among the young damsels whose personal attractions are not their strong point, and who have troubled themselves but little with genuine feminine accomplishments. Most of the portrait-groups of specially athletic women one sees in the pictorial periodicals illustrate this. In fact, the very exercise of muscular achievements suitable only for men has the effect of hardening and roughening the feminine exterior; while it is too often associated with a strident voice, a self-assertive manner, a brusque and abrupt address to malekind, and a general lapse of attractive-

ness. All of which attributes tend to damp a man's matrimonial intents, and to throw him back into the inmost recesses of his bachelor shell. For it is perfectly palpable that there is a large following of women in the *classes* as distinguished from the *masses*, who are departing more and more from that loveable type of woman which has been so dear to mankind in all past ages of the world. So that here we have yet another factor operating, we may feel sure, against the chances of matrimony to so many of the smart young women of to-day. To this point we will return presently.

Thus far, then, we have dealt with marriage from the modern male's point of view, and have seen why it is he has become shyer of proposing himself for partnership with the 'new' young gentlewoman. We will now consider the matter from the platform of the woman herself, as she is interpreted by certain of her sex, cultivated and informed women, who have written most about her.

Three main causes of the alleged growing distaste on the part of women for the risks and responsibilities of marriage are stated by female writers to be these. (1) The increased liberty, individualism, and choice of careers, accorded to the sex, make them less disposed to merge their freedom in matrimony. (2) The deterioration of the average Society man, the inanity of his talk to women, his self-absorption, his lack of urbanity to the other sex, and so forth. (3) The asserted decay of the love sentiment, the disparagement of marriage and of the home ideals, the general dethronement of the Lares.

As to the present-day independence of the better-class women, we have abundant and incessant testimony. 'We agree,' says Lady Jeune, distinctly a believer in the modern young gentlewoman, 'that women are much more mannish than formerly; and that has grown out of the greater freedom and independence they now enjoy. It may have taken away some of the dependence and softness of women, but it has given them a strong individuality, strong opinions. . . . Girls think and act for themselves.' Further, touching the effect of this upon matrimony. 'Every year the increased independence which girls

enjoy, and the feeling of the time in which they live, make them less anxious to marry, or to marry so early.*

'Girls are now highly educated,' writes the Countess of Malmesbury, 'so far as book-learning can make them so; they are allowed freedom undreamt of twenty years ago, and the superficial knowledge of life they thus acquire is one of the most dangerous elements in their present condition. An attitude of independence, an indisposition to listen to advice, combined with total ignorance of the real situation they are bent on creating for themselves, is a spectacle which would be ludicrous if it were not melancholy to those who know by experience the difficulties which beset a woman's life, even under most favoured conditions.' Authority, she adds, is 'admittedly obsolete.'†

At the 1898 Conference of Women Workers, Mrs. Rendall spoke of the recent wider opportunities and the higher education in which women have so fully shared. 'This change,' she says, 'in circumstances and outlook—increased liberty and enlarged range of professions—is common to girls of all classes.' But, observes Mrs. Frances Steinthal at the same Conference, 'the general outcry to-day from our large towns is that the girls will not be interested in good works, that they will not sacrifice themselves for the good and happiness of others less favoured than themselves.' 'The surplus of females in the population,' says Miss Sproule, an Inspector to the West Riding County Council, 'has forced on women in all ranks the necessity of working for their daily bread. . . . The old idea that a woman's goal is marriage is fast disappearing.' According to Miss Ella Hepworth Dixon, 'it is, primarily, the almost complete downfall of Mrs. Grundy that makes the modern spinster's lot in many respects an eminently attractive one. Formerly, girls married in order to gain their social liberty; now, they more often remain single in order to bring about that desirable consummation.'

Next, as to the alleged deterioration of the modern median and upper-class male. Truth compels us to admit that here the

* *The Modern Marriage Market*, pp. 80-82.
xxxvi.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 161-2.

female complainant has something by way of a grievance, though it may be a pertinent question how far she is herself responsible for the falling off in the old-world politeness. In a former number of this *Review* I ventured to descant upon the latter-day decay of manners in English society, including those of our younger men towards the other sex.* What was then said it is only too easy to reinforce.

Miss Hepworth Dixon claims among the reasons why women are ceasing to marry, the more critical attitude of her sex towards their masculine contemporaries. The present generation of young women, she asserts, are apt to perceive in their suitors certain

'Of the least endearing qualities of the Anglo-Saxon race ; those qualities, it may be whispered, which, though eminently suitable for the making of empire, are not always entirely appreciated on the domestic hearth. . . . At present we are in a transition stage, and there is now-a-days a certain amount of misunderstanding between the sexes which makes marrying and giving in marriage a somewhat hazardous enterprise.'

The force of this indictment, however, is a little broken by the subsequent remark : 'This shyness at being caught in the matrimonial net is largely a characteristic of the modern English maiden, for widows, like widowers, usually show an extraordinary eagerness to resume the fetters of the wedded state.' The modern male, after all then, must prove in general a satisfactory mate, else why should the widow, after her experience of him, be so keen to re-endue herself with the fetters, and re-embark upon the hazards, of wedlock.

An American lady, writing some time back in the *X/Xth Century*, tells us she considers young English gentlemen greatly inferior to their transatlantic congeners in respect of deferential politeness shown to women, but in all that goes to make up the polished gentleman, the faithful true-hearted friend, she prefers the typical middle-aged, elderly Englishman. Strange to say, we find that arch-priestess of female emancipation, who gave us *The*

* See Article, 'The Vaults of Modern Progress'—*Scottish Review*, July, 1898, pp. 101-2.

Heavenly Twins, decrying the university graduate, while eulogising in contrast the military type of young man. From *her* it comes as the unexpected to learn of the latter that

'To the women of his own family he is usually charming. . . . His favourite pursuits are refined; he abhors low company, and is not, as a rule, to be found in bars, public billiard rooms, or music halls. When he does appear at such places he remembers that he is a gentleman. . . . His education has generally been sound . . . but whatever his attainments, he is modest about them. . . . Both in public and private he is a more agreeable person to deal with than the academic man. . . . He has his deficiencies. . . . But whatever his short-comings, if only he extended to women at large the chivalrous consideration he shows to the women of his own family, there would be very little fault to find with him. . . . One could wish for all young men something of the soldier's training.'

I fear this is not the estimate of the British *militaire* most in vogue with the female trumpeters of their sex's claims. Though possibly the splendid heroism of our officers and soldiers so recently exhibited in warfare may have somewhat opened their eyes to his virtues.

There remains our third alleged plea adverse to marriage, the discrediting of the Penates combined with a certain aloofness from the old-fashioned love-ideal now affected by the modern gentlewoman. A well-known writer on women's work, Miss Frances Low, has described the decay of domesticity with much force and candour.

'It is the fashion now-a-days to regard the special kind of work which only a woman can do supremely well, and surpass a man in the doing, with dislike and contempt, and to magnify the achievements, in which women manage to keep a footing with no particular consequence to the welfare of mankind or progress. The *domestic* woman has become a term of reproach with a certain section of women, who have not the wit or the grace to see that the perfect mistress of a house has faculties, qualities, and talents, as fine, as rare and as valuable to the race, as those manifested in any other notable department of intelligent human activity.'

'This contempt of the most important of womanly arts has inevitably influenced all classes of Society, and the present serious domestic service problem is due in a great measure, I have no hesitation in asserting, to the attitude which has been taken up by educated women, and which is tacitly maintained in every High School throughout the Kingdom, where athletic sports of the most pronounced masculine description are now accounted

part of the education of English girlhood, whilst cookery, sewing, and the housewifely arts, which every woman, no matter what her social position, is upon occasion required to know, have no place in the time-tables.'*

'The period of the highest female culture in England,' says Mrs. Orr, 'was certainly not that in which women were least devoted to domestic work. . . . 'The wider spread of education and the ambitions which it creates tend visibly to the worse or more unwilling performance of all the lower kinds of work.' The New Woman movement, wrote the late Mrs. Lynn Linton,

'Is due to the new conditions of society and domestic economy, whereby restlessness has been created, and the home occupations which once absorbed the sex have been superseded by general and special providers.' Thus 'the home naturally becomes monotonous, and girls and married women stream out of it to the club and the shop for the excitement home cannot afford them. . . . Women cry out in two languages. On the one side they fall foul of the work that falls to the lot of their sex, the house-keeping, the child-bearing and subsequent care of the children, without which life could not go on at all, nor society hold together. On the other, they demand to share in all the occupations of men.'

'The domesticated and home-loving woman,' wrote Lady Violet Greville near the middle of the present decade, 'is now a thing of the past, and home life *par excellence* is extinct.' 'In the house of life,' says Mrs. Devereux, 'there is only an attic now for Cupid, instead of a great wide room. . . . In the original woman, the impulse toward motherhood was spontaneous and almost invariable.' But now, 'hampered by her enormous majority, the English maid has no certainty of an eventual maternity, even if she desired it, which she frequently does not.' 'Love,' writes a clever lady-novelist ('George Paston') 'may once have been a woman's whole existence, but that was when a skein of embroidery silk was the only other string to her bow. In the life of the modern woman, blessed with an almost inexhaustible supply of strings, love is no less episodal than in the life of a man. It may be eagerly longed for, it may be tenderly cherished, but it has been deposed from its proud position of "lord of all."'

* *Profitable Employments for Educated Women. The Woman at Home*, May, 1899.

It will be seen by the reader that I have so far confined myself to women's utterances about women, as being more convincing to the majority of the sex than what might be deemed the biased views of men. Not, however, that men have been silent on the subject, or blind to the modern influences adverse to matrimony in the leisured classes. A well-known Italian writer, Guglielmo Ferrero, has given us his ideas thereupon in his recent work, *L'Europa Giovane*. The emancipated modern Englishwoman, belonging to a sort of 'terzo sesso' or third neuter sex, as he styles it, is finding marriage more and more difficult. The class of voluntary celibates, male and female, is, he thinks, assuming alarming proportions. The increasing preponderance of the spinster in Anglo-Saxon society strikes Signor Ferrero as a fact of the gravest significance. The competitor who now meets man at every turn is a creature like the working bee, in whom the desire to be a wife or a mother has been atrophied.*

'English Society,' as he caustically puts it, will probably differentiate itself into two classes with different functions: one of women designed for the humble duty of preserving the species; the other of sexless creatures, intelligent, learned, industrious, but barren, living solely by the brain, with heart and senses petrified. Thus, the higher education of women, far from completing man's felicity, and adding a new splendour to the solution of the problem of love, will be a cause of fresh disappointment, bitter conflicts, and worse complications.

Note that this writer and Coralie Glynn, while agreeing as to the rise of this new class of sexless-minded women, differ materially in their appreciation of them.

We have reached, then, in this discussion, the following conclusions: That there is an increasing surplusage in this country of spinster gentlewomen: That there have been a recent evolution and growth of certain currents in that social rank running counter to marriage and thus tending to enlarge this surplusage.

And now we will hark back to that other factor, of which I have already spoken, and which, assuredly, must and does count

* . . . 'potremmo paragonare' he says, 'questa classe di donne alle spi operaie-sesso neutro di femmine in cui gli organi sessuali si sono atrofizzati' . . . p. 321.

in this direction among the better-class British bachelorhood. Yet it is something curious that so little notice has been taken of this matrimonial handicap by our modern writers on the feminist movement. Quite lately, however, it has been in a manner connoted by one lady treating of that section of her sex who give themselves chiefly to athletic pastimes. To be sure, her main contention is the injurious effects, mental and physical, that are bound to ensue from the prevailing excess of athletics among young gentlewomen. But between the lines of her admirable essays on the subject one reads also the inevitable de-thronement of the true womanly ideals, the lowering effect upon man's worship of his goddess, and a certain loss of attractiveness which such women must suffer in the eyes of manly men. And so, all unconsciously perhaps, our *Mulier Musculosa* is placing another barrier between herself and her chances of matrimony. The outburst of athletics among the middle and gentlefolk circles, is scarcely over a dozen years old. But meantime it has so bitten these classes that apart from the present war troubles little is talked, little is done, little has a chance of being cared for, among them, save muscular sports of one kind or another. Boisterous bodily exertion is enshrined in the modern young lady's creed and ambitions, as at once 'the correct thing' and the chief thing in life worth living for. Of this insane muscle-worship we see not yet the ultimate consequences; but Miss Arabella Kenealy, doctor of medicine, with a large grasp of the subject and a potent pen, has diagnosed the disease and its mischievous results in a marvellously convincing manner.

In the first of her two essays on 'Woman as an Athlete,' which recently appeared in the columns of the *Nineteenth Century*, Miss Kenealy begins by asking certain pregnant questions concerning 'this flood of new activity which fills our illustrated papers with portraits of feminine prize-winners, and our sporting journals with female records.' She proceeds to show that in endeavouring inordinately to add to her muscle-power, the modern woman is doing so at the expense of her womanly faculties. Her athletic pastimes have not conduced to her usefulness, nor has her new physical energy been expended in the service of her associates. 'The energy but urges her to greater muscular

efforts in the pursuit of pleasure, or to her own repute.' In the old days the average young woman accomplished much that was unambitious but most practically useful in the house. Now she finds no time for any of these ministrations. She considers herself 'splendidly fit,' 'as hard as nails,' but her mother, 'though she rejoices in her young Amazon's augmented thews and sinews,' cannot but sigh for the loss to the home. Unfortunately, *materfamilias* misconstrues the daughter's muscle capability as evidence of improved health, and, while she laments its results, regards it as her maternal duty to be glad. But here Dr. Arabella Kenealy bluntly steps in and disturbs the mother's complaisance. For she says:—

'It is a physiological fact that muscle vigour is no test even of masculine health. A man in training, a man that is at the height of his muscular capacity, is the worst of all subjects for illness. He has little or no resistant power; his recuperative quality is small. Athletes die proverbially young. . . . And this, which is true of the sex whose province it is to be muscular, is essentially more true of the sex whose province it is not.'

Miss Kenealy next shows how this muscle-cult deteriorates the woman in more ways than one.

'I dare but hint,' she says, 'at a group of important functions, by the physical deterioration and decadence of which the abnormal activities of modern women are alone possible. Of what consequence, it may be asked, is this to a race which views motherhood with ever-increasing contempt? Of vital consequence, I answer, seeing that apart absolutely from the incidence of motherhood, all the functions of the body—and some in immense degree—fluence and modify the mind and character. . . . And it must be understood that such decadence and deterioration show mainly in the loss of the very highest qualities of sex.'

This is plain speaking, but coming as it does from a lady and a physician, such a warning should be no light matter of reflection for the class of women who seem to glory in breaking the physiological bounds of their sex. 'One cannot possess,' says our essayist, 'all the delicately evolved qualities of woman together with the muscular and mental energies of man.' Of course not, albeit *Mulier Musculosa* and her abettors would make us believe she can. 'This modern woman, who, instead of serv-

ing for a terrible warning, is in danger of proving her sex's example, is restless, clamorous, is only satisfied when in evidence, is assertive, and withal is eminently discontented. She never can get enough, for the reason that the thing she asks is not the thing to satisfy her nature.' The up-to-date female is losing 'her power of sympathy, a quality which is in the inverse ratio of the habit of assertiveness.' And assertiveness, says Miss Kenealy, is the blemish of the modern woman. 'The haze and colour' of the higher womanly emotions—sympathy to understand, affection to be fond, imagination to idealise—'are being absorbed into mere violence of movement physical and mental.' How absolutely true all this is, how self-evident to most of us, yet how purblind to it seems the average young society woman, intent only upon qualifying to be 'excellent woman-fellow' to man by mimicking his outdoor sports, even rough-and-tumble ones, and upon constituting herself as we have seen, 'hard as nails.'

Dr. Kenealy lays special stress upon the injury to women's physique and aspect produced by the muscular over-exercise in fashion among them to-day, and urges her point with a frankness and emphasis a man could hardly venture to adopt in discussing such a theme. She is contrasting a new-muscular representative of her sex with what the same girl was a year or two before when as yet she had not physically hardened herself. *Then*, 'her complexion was sensitive and variable; ' there was a mysterious and nameless something about her only to be described as 'charm.' *Now*, she is still perhaps a good-looking girl; her complexion is possibly too strong in its contrasting tones; her glance is unswerving and direct.

'Where before her beauty was suggestive and elusive, now it is defined. . . . The haze, the elusiveness, the subtle suggestion of the face are gone; it is the landscape without atmosphere. . . . She inclines to be, and in another year will be, distinctly spare, the mechanism of movement is no longer veiled by a certain mystery of motion which gave her formerly an air of gliding rather than of striding from one place to another. In her evening gown she shows evidence of joints which had been adroitly hidden beneath tissues of soft flesh, and already her modiste has been put to the necessity of puffing and pleating, where Nature had planned the tenderest and most dainty of devices. Her movements are muscular and less womanly. Where they had been quiet and graceful,

now they are abrupt and direct. Her voice is louder, her tones are assertive. She says everything—leaves nothing to the imagination.'

Could anything well beat this for a portrait to the life? It is unmistakeable. We have the woman before us in all the panoply of mannish mail with which she has encrusted herself.

In a second article, Arabella Kenealy emphasises with further telling illustrations the points she had previously made. She distinguishes in woman's anatomy between the *voluntary* muscles the athletic woman is so desirous to develop, and the *involuntary*, and explains how the latter 'are worked by means of an extensive nervous network known as the sympathetic nervous system.' This nerve-system it is—

'Which determines the beautiful and wonderful evolvement of the girl into a woman. . . . The straight up-and-down lines of the girlish frame, which subserved the locomotive energies essential to growth, evolve into graceful curves and dignities. Her eyes are illumined with a new and tender light.'

'Now,' she says, 'watch this development thwarted by athletics. . . . Instead of a regeneration there is a degeneration. Instead of physical enrichment there is but physical impoverishment. She loses the charm of childhood without gaining another. She remains unlovely or grows coarse. She stops short at the puerile stage with the straight up-and-down lines of the puerile type, or she assumes the stout and sturdy, it may be gross, lines which are a degeneration from it. And it is this puerile type, or the degeneration from it, which is increasing largely among our modern women.'

Those of us with seeing eyes have long taken note of this from the female object-lessons around us.

The foolishness of women's muscular ambitions is thus further enforced.

'When Nature had given impetus sufficient for the girl's bones and muscles in those earlier years of unrestrained activity, she set a check upon these by investing her with special disabilities—the added width and weight of hip, for example, which (when these exist) must always be a bar to muscular achievement. For Nature had other uses than merely muscular for this fine beautiful creature she had proudly evolved—moral, spiritualizing, tender, and dainty uses wherein muscular abilities have little portion.'

The woman who has assumed the *masculine* variation from the puerile stage of life may be an 'excellent fellow,' but as a

feminine human creature she is a failure. She has not reached her proper full development. 'She will never be the inspiration of any man's life.'

Nevertheless, Miss Kenealy is careful to say that in itself she has no objection to the bicycle for women, as a means of taking air and wholesome exercise. Where, she says, the danger lies is that this locomotor is apt to convert itself into a hobby-horse, which may ride its master, and still more its mistress, to physical destruction. So, of course, with other more distinctively manly pastimes which our modern women are misguided enough to take up. The significance of the old Greek phrase —φέρεσθαι ἐκτος τῶν ἀλαῶν, to race beyond the olives—is lost sight of. Too often, whatever the form of bodily exertion, they *will* go too far.

Our author points this moral, too, by suggesting from concrete examples in her own experience the superiority of the offspring of women of the quiet, emotional, but intensely feminine type over those of the more muscular and more robust mothers who have rejoiced in 'that robustness which is degeneration from the womanly type.' . . . 'The muscular reformer sees as woman's highest goal her capacity for doing things that men do, whereas her true value lies in her capacity for doing things men cannot do.' This is admirably put, and one would have thought a self-evident truth. For, as she otherwise points out, 'masculinity not being proper to women, is a thing with no relation to the fine thing called manliness, as effeminacy in a man is no very noble rendering of the noble thing called womanliness.'

'Finally,' says Miss Kenealy, 'one grows ashamed and weary of the perpetual vaunt of emergence and emancipation. Now for the first time we are Women—free to use our down-trampled powers—is our modern boast; whereas, if the truth be told, we are in no way nobler, finer, or more suited to our age than were the women who have gone before us.'

Elsewhere Dr. Arabella Kenealy is to the full as emphatic. She is deeply disappointed that the so-called woman's movement should have resolved itself mainly into a cult of muscularity. The athletic female, instead of using her modern

privileges for the evolution and enrichment of her womanhood, has devoted them 'to the development of the masculine within her.' She cannot expend two-thirds of her nerve-forces upon her muscles, and yet have more than a third left for other faculties. We are told, says Miss Kenealy, that the modern English girl has grown tall as well as muscular, and has made a distinct approach in figure to the male model. 'The new type of English girl,' says one of her champions, 'owes her increased height to an increased length of leg,' whereas anatomists have always taught us that 'a woman's legs should be shorter in proportion to her height than are a man's legs. . . . Her proportions are now very nearly the same as those of a man.'

To this opponent, Arabella Kenealy aptly replies:

'Had this writer been a physiologist, he would have known that so marked a change as he describes, and which has, in fact, occurred, could only have happened at the expense of loss elsewhere. We cannot acquire the characteristics of men without losing our own. It would not be just that one sex should possess the capabilities of both. And it is from degeneration of her especial physical organisation that woman has acquired the greater length of limb.' . . . , 'It is the duty—and should be the cherished privilege—of women to hold some of their forces in reverent reserve. . . . This she can never do by expending all her forces in athletics, or in social exhaustion, or in spoiling that especial organisation which alone enables her to advance the human type.'

Miss Kenealy declares she has 'never known any woman who, after two years of athletics, retained any pretension whatsoever to charm.' . . . 'The athletic woman (and by the term I mean women accustomed to strong, but not necessarily extreme exercise) passes through the human epochs of love-making, marriage, and motherhood with the most astounding insensibility. She has lost her capacity for idealising.*

Thus and thus argues Arabella Kenealy with trenchant directness, and in a literary style at once powerful, dignified, and impressive. I cannot recall anything that has been written on the modern manly woman so searching in its exposure of

* *Woman as Athlete*, by Arabella Kenealy, L.R.C.P. *Daily Telegraph*, 17th June, 1899.

her foolishness, or more instinct with sober, sane practical truth. It were well if a short digest of the dicta from which we have quoted could be printed, framed, and hung up over the toilette-table of every young woman of the better classes in the English-speaking world. For our modern masculine-feminine sees not yet the aftermath of her athletic antics. 'No me digas oliva, hasta que me veas cogida,' shrewdly runs the Spanish proverb; and it may be a generation or more ere the full fruitage of her cult of muscularity is made manifest.

What, then, is the bearing of the foregoing views of our lady-doctor on the present unnatural surplusage of spinster gentlewomen? Manifestly, that our 'hard as nails' girls of to-day are handicapping themselves for betrothal no less than for matrimony. In a sense they have turned themselves into monstrosities. They fall short of being men, and do not attain to being, in the proper loveable acceptation, women. It is well nigh impossible for a man to make a lode-star of a woman of the modern muscular type. A distinguished London Daily gauged the situation accurately in a leader on Miss Kenealy's first article.

'Men,' we there read, 'have not dared for a long time past to explain why it was that, while they held out the right hand of friendship to the "jolly good fellow" into whom some other man's sister had developed as the result of bicycling and golfing, they still had hidden regrets for the dear delightful woman she might have been had she just clung to the duties and pleasures that sufficed to fill her mother's life. . . . They took these new healthy girls as good friends, and cycled with them, and played golf with them, and they never dreamt of marriage except when they were alone, and took to exercising their imagination. Then they remembered what their elders had told them, or let them guess, of the delights of wooing a maiden in the old days, and all the dear uncertainties.' *

The younger men in society, following the passing fashion, may affect interest for a time in your girl-votaries of muscular games, and occasionally be drawn into marrying them, but deep down in his heart of hearts the manly man knows well enough that it is not with the Amazon or tomboy class of woman that his sympathies lie.

* *Morning Post*, 31st March, 1899.

Amazonia, too, herself knows there is something wrong, and has a shrewd uneasy suspicion that her man-comrade is more and more shirking matrimony; and that consequently spinster gentlewomen are an increasing quantity. But touching the muscle cult she is somewhat myopic, and does not suspect her own attitude to him and the incongruity of her pursuits as any-wise responsible for the situation. She fancies her physical stature has increased, and so she thinks to herself what Rosalind (for a temporary purpose) says to Celia in *As You Like It*,

‘ Were it not better
Because that I am more than common tall,
That I did suit me all points like a man ?
A gallant curtle-axe upon my thigh,
A boar-spear in my hand ; and—in my heart
Lie there what hidden woman’s fear there will—
We’ll have a swashing and a martial outside,
As many other manly cowards have
That do outface it with their semblances.’

There is little doubt many of our modern Antiope and Marpesias would, if only fashion led the way, return to woman’s masculine mimicry of the days of Imperial Rome, when gentle-born ladies were wont to patronise charioteering and gladiatorial pastimes. Efforts have been made by certain emulous ladies to annex for their sex the game of polo, but this supreme folly has so far been spared us. Fencing among them, it seems, is growing in popularity, and some of us may live to see a New Woman’s *pentathlon* introduced as the natural evolution from women’s cricket, hockey, football, and the like. The feminine passion for athletics in Juvenal’s time synchronised with woman’s emancipation from restraints and with a decline in marriage, which last became unfashionable among the wealthier classes. The Latin satirist comes hard down on the lady athlete, who goes in for feats of strength and flies from her sex (*quae fugit a sexu*). We see her wrappers of Tyrian purple; her unguents; the gladiatorial belt, gauntlets, crest, and half-covering for the left leg; which she has assumed. We hear the blows she inflicts on the training post as she goes through her pancreatic exercises. ‘Aspice quo fremitu’ exclaims the poet, ‘monstratos

perferet ictus.' ('See with what a cry she drives home the thrusts that have been shown her.') Truly, he adds, a woman most worthy of the trumpet of the *Floralia*! Could we not lay hands to-day upon scores, ay hundreds, of young matrons and maidens, whose ambitions are pretty much summed up in the trumpetings of our modern *Floralia*, or, let us say, *Olympia*? These are they, a numerous band, who would fain wear the lion's skin of Herakles, and are for ever seeking some new Pindar of the periodicals to sing paens to their muscular achievements.

Even that eminently fair-minded publicist, Mr. Lecky, in his latest work, *The Map of Life: Conduct and Character*, is constrained to admit (p. 228) 'that amusements which have no kind of evil effect on men often in some degree impair the graces or character of women,' and that one sex cannot with impunity try to live the life of the other.

What then can one suggest by way of antidote or check in some measure to the growing redundancy of spinsters in our upper and middle grades of society?

Much assuredly might be done by more serious efforts to set up agencies whereby our unmarried gentlewomen might be induced without losing caste to emigrate to our Imperial dependencies, where the cultured male element is at present enormously in excess of the female. Much again—and this is a real practical possibility lying at our hand—might be effected by a reform in the super-sumptuary habits of the day already descanted upon: by a return, in short, to households and menages conducted with more simplicity and economy. 'Let life be simplified all round,' a lady writer has sensibly put it. 'Let early marriages on modest incomes become the rule and not the exception,' as they used to be, and they still are in the lower middle ranks of society. But, for this to be effective, the set of custom and the seal of fashion must lean that way; of which at present there is no sign, but mischievously the reverse. For to-day we are most of us in thraldom to the fetich 'that one must live up to the times, or to one's neighbours, or to one's social obligations and what is expected of us.'

And lastly, if she would diminish the disproportionate bachelorhood of the country, the young damsel of the better classes must turn over a new leaf, and in her thoughts, words, and works give some heed, not alone to the advice of the maturer and more discerning of her own sex, but likewise to the average man's opinion of her. The wisest woman, says a distinguished author, is she who suspects that men are wiser. As to some things this is probably a true saying, notably in respect of the male instinct concerning the manner of mate he would desire to live his life with. At present, the ordinary man regards the Amazonian girl of epicene tendencies rather as one views a freak of nature, only that the freak in this case is not Nature's, but an artificial social product. He looks at her critically, sorrowfully, while in the matter of matrimonial leanings towards her he too often holds his peace and goes his way. It may be, could he get behind her manly mask, the starved modicum of genuine woman within her might reveal itself, and be weaned back to tread the dear old paths of enchantment. But she cannot have her bread buttered on both sides. She must not expect to go in for the role of the male, and yet exact his deference or win his devotion.

I say our girls of the social midlands and higher levels must reconsider their position and their ways, if they would check one of the contributory causes of the augmenting bachelorhood and spinsterhood within their ranks. The frantic pursuit of mere outdoor personal amusement must be abandoned. The delights of hockey, with its occasional incidents of bandaged heads, broken teeth, and bruises, must be left to the virile sex which has to do for the most part the rough-and-tumble work of the world. The feebleness of adult girls' cricket, their farcical attempts at football, the overstrain of their bicycling (not its moderate use), with all the diverse forms of sport and muscular exertion unsuited to the female, and so constantly overdone, must be discarded. And still there will remain for the sex healthful outdoor recreation in plenty. Manners must be mended. The use of men's slang; sporting and stable talk; the growing

habit of ladies' smoking ; * the mannish stride, the swagger, the knock-you-down demeanour, the strident self-assertive voice tones—all must go. The sweetness and refinements, the sympathetic atmosphere, the graciousness and grace, of woman's genuine nature—after our mothers' pattern—must return into favour. That this will come about before our new century is half over I firmly believe. The swing of the social pendulum will by that time have done its work. Woman travestying as athlete, like the New Woman of evolution and of bygone revolutions, has not come to stay. She will pass ; and her sisters of the future will look back and marvel what bad dream it was which for awhile possessed so many of the sex. For men's views of woman must in the long run tell, and help to bring her back to ways of sense and sanity. And men's impassioned regards will ever turn, not to her muscularity, not to her self-sufficiency, but to her beauty and gentleness and amiability and daintiness, till the heavens fall and the sea gives up its dead.

T. P. W.

* From the latest literature about ladies' clubs in London, we learn that there is one which boasts a special smoking room where a lady can ask a male guest to smoke a cigar with her. And most of these clubs, it seems, provide a smoking-room for their members. *Lady Jeune* has recently noted with deprecation the growth of smoking among 'smart' women.

ART. VIII.—THE FUTURE IN SOUTH AFRICA.

NOW that the Republican forces have abandoned, one after another, their much-vaunted strongholds, and our army has gained a footing in the Transvaal, there is some colour in the reports which are becoming current of the formation of a peace party in the Boer Councils, and the probably early collapse of the war. It may be remarked in passing that there is a precedent for such a course of events. In 1842, the emigrant farmers of the Republic of Natalia resisted the troops sent to carry out the British occupation of the territory ; and in the first encounters gained considerable advantage over them. For a month they held the troops closely invested at Berea, beside Durban. In the meantime King had made his famous ride to Grahamstown, reinforcements were despatched with all haste, and they arrived in time to relieve their comrades. The transports crossed the bar under a heavy fire from the enemy, at short range, when all resistance ceased. Next day the farmers were in retreat ; desertions took place from their ranks wholesale, and so bitter was the dissension and recrimination in their councils that the better among them recognised, perforce, the futility of further resistance, and entered into negotiations with the British representatives. As detailed in the pages of Theal, or of Cloete, who was an eye-witness of the later scenes, this episode offers a curious parallel to the events of the present time. There are the same preliminary negotiations ; the same ill-concealed purpose to avoid coming to terms on the Boers' side, tempered by a strangely expressed conviction of the righteousness of their cause ; the same military errors on our part, and the same breaking up of the Boer resistance on the arrival of British reinforcements. It is noteworthy that Lord Roberts has never had a pitched battle to fight since he began his advance. The main body of the Boer army has practically abandoned in succession each of the positions where it was expected to make a stand, as soon as the opposing force got into contact with it. As in Natal sixty years ago, so now on the borders of the two republics dissensions are

breaking out, and the opinion is freely expressed in Colonial circles that active resistance will soon be at an end.

Prophecy before the event is dangerous ; but in some way or other, with or without a final effort by the Boers, the end is sure to come soon. In these circumstances, it will be well to look forward and consider some of the problems which will have to be faced after the war. These are really the heart of the South African question ; though they appeal less to the popular fancy, they are in a sense far more serious than all the alarms and sacrifices of a campaign, and their solution will demand no less watchfulness, endurance, and perseverance.

First and foremost, the status of the Republics. The Colonial Secretary is reported to have stated that they will be governed as Crown Colonies. This is as it should be. Loyalist feeling in South Africa has all along dreaded the possibility of a repetition of the weakness of 1881, by which the disaffected elements in South Africa would still be left with a rallying point. It may be remarked that the writer has heard the opinion freely expressed that a policy similar to that now announced might well be pursued with regard to Cape Colony. It is thought that the freedom from political excitement which would result from such a course would give the country time to settle down ; and for their part, loyalists would count any temporary loss of political privileges as more than compensated for by a period of quietness and prosperity. To that end, however, the destruction of the hegemony of the Transvaal ought to be sufficient. If all reports are true, the agitation with which the Afrikander Bond is commonly credited, was fostered from Pretoria. The 'race-feeling,' of which certain Dutch prints make so much, dates from 1881, as does also the open avowal of forming a united South Africa under its own flag. Pretoria was, as it were, the Mecca of the Dutch Afrikander. It is said that in many districts the machinery of the Bond was to have been used as a quick and secret way of gathering its members round the invaders' flag. Why it failed at the critical moment, whether the Dutchman's care for his own interests, or other influences, came into play, and prevented a general rising of the Dutch population from taking effect, is probably more than we shall ever know. But

doubtless the same reasons which have already been operative, will be still more so in the future, and the disloyal Dutch element will go quietly. The annexation of the Orange River Colony must dissipate any lingering dream of British magnanimity being prevailed on by their entreaties. When their hopes have been so signally disappointed there can be little left to aspire to, and in course of time even the most unreasoning of them must come to see the uselessness of working for the unattainable. They have staked everything and have lost. They have been made to see that South Africa is not *ons Land*, the peculiar preserve of the Dutch, but a part of the Empire, and it surely will not be lost on them that every community of British descent or allegiance has aided in impressing the fact upon them. The Imperial Government is evidently at one with the people in the determination that the disturbing element in South African affairs shall be rendered powerless for evil. The danger in future does not lie with the Afrikanders, but with ourselves. There must be no weakness or relenting in carrying out the pacification of the country, no getting the ear of ministers or a party, no sentimental or pedantic following of political axioms out of season. If the loyalists are willing to disfranchise themselves for the sake of the common weal, there can be no reason for restoring any measure of political liberty to those who have been open enemies or secretly disaffected, until they have placed their repentance and amendment beyond question.

In Cape Colony and Natal there are districts where a large portion of the inhabitants made common cause with the enemy. In their case a demand has been made for general disfranchisement. Here, again, the loyalists would willingly forego their rights for a time. Probably if any great number of the rebels are brought to book, the result would be to secure a preponderance of loyalist votes. A conviction for treason entails disfranchisement for five years. Whichever course is followed, we may probably look for a loyalist majority in the Legislative Assembly of Cape Colony for the next few elections, which will give time for things to take a decided course. Over and above this, there is the prospect of a large number of the more moderate Afrikanders forsaking the Bond, and casting in their lot with the

Imperialists. Some organs of opinion count largely on this, and declare that the day of the Bond is now past. Says one, 'With the overthrow of Bond influence, which is the chief source of disloyalty in the Western Province, there will be a revulsion of feeling among Afrikanders. They will see the mistake of setting themselves against everything English; they will see that an Englishman can be a good and a desirable neighbour.' Apart from his politics, the Dutch Afrikander, such at least as the writer has met in the Colony, is a reasonable enough being. From his circumstances, he is a man of few ideas, to which he adheres through thick and thin, and is too much under the influence of his cleverer and unscrupulous compatriots, but he and the English farmers about manage to live in peace, and have dealings with each other. They are not, perhaps, often very intimate, but they are friendly and neighbourly with each other.

As to the chances of a prolonged military occupation of the Orange River Colony and the Transvaal, the present writer is of opinion that it is not likely to be necessary. Past experience has shown that the Dutch are amenable to a sound beating. If they are made to realize that they are thoroughly beaten this time, they will have no desire to try the fortunes of war again. Even an overwhelming police force will hardly be necessary. The Boer is, true to his name, essentially a farmer, and desires nothing more than to be left in peace to follow out his occupation. If it can be brought home to him that his farm is as much his own under the Queen's government as under the Volksraad, he will soon settle down into a peaceable subject. Now he will know the hopelessness of open rebellion, and if he can further be made to know that failure can only result in confiscation of his farm, he will, like a prudent man, refuse to run the risk.

While writing this, the report of the People's Congress at Graaf-Reinet has come to hand. At this, which was simply a gathering of the members of the Bond under a change of name, much talk was indulged in about the iniquity of annexing the Republics, and gloomy vaticinations were indulged in as to the future of South Africa. We may be excused for thinking that they are for the most part mere sound and fury, signifying nothing. The average Dutch Afrikander has too strong an

instinct of self-preservation to embark on anything like rebellion unless he is sure of success.

The most interesting side of the race question—which, after all, is the kernel of the South African problem—is not its political but its social side. The decisive battle for the supremacy of the Dutch or British factor in the population will be fought out, not on the hustings, but in commerce, in agriculture, and in the professions. What the Dutch dread is that they will either be forced to the wall, or become assimilated to the other race in the country. Before the outbreak of the war, one of them was reported to have said that they must withhold from the Outlander the franchise and everything that would induce him to settle in the Transvaal, or else they would be swamped and would see their children become 'poor whites,' as had happened in the Colony. There is some ground for this dread. The struggle between modern ideas and those of the seventeenth century can have only one termination. And in many respects the typical Boer is a couple of centuries old in his ideas. There are strong men who will not go outside of nights for fear of ghosts. The present writer has heard most circumstantial accounts of ghosts which have been seen and felt. One particularly well-attested story had its scene laid in the bedroom which he occupied on a farm. They make no secret of employing remedies which the writer never saw mentioned elsewhere than in sixteenth-century manuals, the blood of puppies, sheeps' entrails, decoctions of lice, and other broth of abominable things. A charm against toothache was found on the body of a Boer after a recent skirmish. These things must have come with the earliest settlers in the country. In many other respects their ideas are equally antiquated. It will be remembered that the first railway in the Transvaal was opposed on the ground that it was impious and unscriptural. Even so devoted an admirer of the Boers as Mrs. Schreiner represented one of her characters as saying that it is sinful to use soda for soap-making when God had put the lye-bush on the veldt. Their piety exhibits the same peculiarity. It is a strange reading of Scripture, unconsciously twisted to fit the narrow circle of their ideas. They are the chosen people who have reached the land foretold after many

wanderings. Like the Old Testament characters, they lead out their flocks and herds, they have contentions about pastures and wells, the locusts, the drought, and the murrrain of Scripture still are visited upon them, and, true to old-fashioned ideas, they regard these things not as provocations to resource and energy, but as visitations which it would be impious to do aught else than endure. One result, among others, of such an attitude is that, while in Australia sheep scab has been stamped out, in the flocks of South Africa it is continually recurring.

Such a mental equipment is hardly enough to enable its possessor to hold his own with men who come from centres where modern ideas prevail. He must go to the wall, and see others more adventurous and resourceful than himself prosper by means which never entered his head. So it proved in the Transvaal. Had the Transvaalers been left to themselves, it is safe to say they would never have worked the mines for generations. They have not enough of the spirit of association and enterprise which is necessary to working the deep level mines through refractory rock. Of all the companies, not one is a Boer venture; or if there is one, it is not of any great name. Johannesburg has been described as more English than Cape Town. Its trade and professions were in the hands of Europeans; even its Boer officialdom was officered largely by Hollanders. It was no place for the genuine Boer. He knew it only by report as a den of wickedness—a new Babylon he would no doubt have called it. In reality it was a centre of ideas and activities utterly beyond him. He might exact tribute, but could never become a partner of them.

A speaker at the People's Congress echoed an opinion which even English Colonials often repeat. 'They cannot do without the Dutch as pioneers. Rhodesia is waiting to be settled, and there we are indispensable.' A paragraph to the same effect went the round of the newspapers recently. According to it the Boer is the man of the land. He can live amid arid surroundings on the produce of his flocks, while, as the writer put it, the Englishman must have tinned beef, tinned jam, and a thousand other imported delicacies—all the luxuries of the Saltmarket, as Bailie Nicol Jarvie would have said.

It is to be feared that the converse of this is true, not that the country cannot do without the Dutch as pioneers, but that the Dutch are nowhere without room to pioneer in. North America and Australia have been pioneered much better than South Africa, without their aid. Generations of a nomadic life with all the country to trek in have produced a section of Dutch society well nigh unfit for any other existence. The 'poor white' class is entirely recruited from their ranks. Dutch farms present the same picture as the small properties of France or the crofts of our Scotch Highlands. Farms have been subdivided till they are only enough to keep life alive in men and cattle. Every Dutch farm has its *bywooner* or poor dependant, often more than one. Some of them resemble small villages. Out of many cases which have come to his hearing or observation, the writer may refer to one. A few miles off at the foot of the mountains, he can see a large farm steading. The farm is in one of the best districts of the Colony. It is extensive, and at a distance looks a comfortable and prosperous place. The real owner is an old man of more than eighty years. His eight sons have each a portion of the farm assigned to them. They are married and have families, who in their turn have descendants, so that on a very moderate computation the place is burdened with sixty or seventy persons. They have no stock, and live from hand to mouth on the produce of their lands and by training oxen and horses for their more prosperous neighbours. From one of them a neighbour rented his share of the veldt, and makes £100 a-year from what costs him fifteen or sixteen. Add to this the intermarriage so common in such cases and its consequent degeneracy and idiocy, and one has some idea of the state of affairs. The old man holds tight to his property; the sons are waiting for his death. Then the farm will be put on the market. Each will receive three or four hundred pounds as his share of the proceeds, and will go into the nearest village and live like a lord for a time, after which he will be left without hope or resource. In former times when land was abundant, and huge farms were practically given away, such things could scarcely happen. Now, unless the Dutch Colonist chooses to go into the Transvaal or Rhodesia, or some other part where

there is unoccupied land, he must either find some new occupation, or linger on a patch of ground not enough to support a few hundred sheep. This land question, as it would be called at home, is not the result of the land passing into a few hands, but of simple overcrowding and improvidence. Farms are overstocked with men and animals till some day Nature will make a clean sweep. Much has been said about the African farmer's lot, persevering against drought and pestilence and a thousand other difficulties; but the fact remains that hitherto he has done little to remove or obviate these difficulties, and those who would have done so, have had to attempt it single-handed. The Dutch farmer's ideal is to trust his flocks to Providence, to make enough to retire and live in a dorp, and possibly purchase farms for his sons. The land-hunger is strong on them. A farm can be bought by a penniless man. The banks will advance the price on mortgage, and the purchaser poses as the owner of the place which he really holds at pleasure of the bond-holder. Thus he has no more the opportunity than the inclination to improve his farm, to fence, to build dams, to try and devise some way of overcoming the natural disadvantages of the country. The agrarian party have been peddling for years at protective duties, and free this and that to the farmer, and have allowed the Orange River and thousands of tons of rainfall to run to waste. Had half the energy and money of the Bond been spent on one thorough irrigation scheme, the country would have been better served by them than it has.

To return to the farmers: that there are swarms of cumberers of the ground is not the result of *latifundia*. In such parts of the Colony as the writer knows, very few of the huge old farms remain entire. Farms of from 15,000 to 20,000 morgen (a morgen is a couple of acres) are now divided into two or three. But the old state of affairs is gradually coming back. Those farmers who do prosper, find their stock become too many for their ground, and gradually hire or purchase from less industrious or prosperous neighbours. One case in particular the writer knows where a farm has been hired in portions by farmers some fifty miles distant, and used as relief stations for surplus stock. These and many others have prospered simply by attending to

their business. To talk of the natural disadvantages of the country is unfair. Of course, where the pasture is reckoned to support about a sheep for every half-dozen acres, one does not expect a paradise, but the country is good, and every judicious investment tells.

The time is coming when it will no longer be enough to do with things as they are—which is, in reality, the extent of the Dutchman's excellence as a pioneer. The consciousness of a need, a properly directed discontent, is, after all, the incentive to progress. The reactionaries who have been content to go on as their forefathers did, and leave things worse rather than better, must either join the progressives or be crushed out by them. The opinion is general that after the war South Africa will enter on a new era of prosperity, the progress that has been delayed so long will then have a fresh start, and those who represent the energy and ability of the country will at last have their say. A well-known writer recently used words to the effect that it was a land that had been shamefully starved. That is the case. Here there is nothing to show such as has been accomplished under similar conditions in Australia, or even in Mexico. A comparison with the former is instructive. Mining there has none of the hindrances which have convulsed the Transvaal. Cape wool fetches about half the price of Australian. The Australian export wine trade is increasing steadily, that of the Cape is a thing of the past.

The Cape at one time supplied horses to the Indian Government, now they are got from Australia. Australia has a fruit trade, the Cape has none. Australian butter, and eggs, and meat find their way to the Cape market. Yet taking all things together, the initial advantage lies rather with the Cape. There the droughts are nothing like those that sweep off the Australian's stock by thousands. The Cape is nearer the great markets of the world, and from the Zambesi to Simonstown there is every variety of situation and climate. Some explain the difference by saying that there are no Dutch in Australia to keep things back. Farmers complain of the way things are kept back, and from various quarters quaint stories come of the

opposition to not very daring proposals for improving various villages.

Call it by what name we will, an influence there certainly has been which has kept the country in little better than a state of nature. Here and there, where more advanced ideas have had scope, there is evidence that much can be done to make it second to none. The opinion prevails that after the war this state of affairs will find an end. New political conditions should give the party of progress their opportunity; and now that the shadow of coming struggle has been dispersed, after hanging over the world for so many years, the population should receive accessions of new-comers with energy and experience, which will be as so much fresh blood infused into it. The Imperial idea, of which so much has been said recently, should also count for something. Translated into everyday practice it means that men are no longer content to regard their own narrow circle and hug their own few ideas, but are ready to join in the activities of the greater world, and to consider and discuss all that it can teach them. Much is said of the rush there will be for South Africa after the settlement of the country; and if all that is said be true, many of those that intend living in it are precisely the men required. Hitherto what immigration there has been has been purely urban. Kimberley and Johannesburg in their turn have attracted nine-tenths, if not more, of those who made their way to the Cape. With great stretches of country lying open there has of late years been no attempt to foster immigration such as are made by Australia and Canada. One reason is that immigration to agrarian pursuits in South Africa would require very careful management; the other, and chief one, is that the Dutch element did not wish to encourage it, but to keep the territories for their pioneering abilities, of which they speak so complacently. A recent immigration return issued by the Cape Government is ludicrous. The year's total was between two and three hundred, composed almost entirely of persons who had come out to the Government railway and other services, with their wives and families. The Rand has already been referred to. The remainder of the settlers in South Africa are invalids. In the interior it is remarkable what a number of men

in all walks of life, business men, farmers, and especially doctors, have come out originally because of their health, and have elected to stay permanently. It must be remembered, too, that a very large proportion of those who came out to push their way, have never become firmly attached to the country. When they make a sufficiency many of them return to their native land. Thus, between one thing and another, there is some ground for the Dutch sneer that the Englishman is a townsman and a mere bird of passage, while the Dutch are the real sons of the soil, and the land is their land. As for the towns the Dutchman is crowded out of trade by the English and the Germans; and as to the latter part of the statement, it is doubtful whether it is borne out by the facts. In the Colony the better the district the greater the proportion of English farmers. And no doubt, if immigration were encouraged the proportion would become greater all over.

There are two ways in which an addition to the English element will likely take place in the immediate future. For one, many of the Colonial volunteers who have come to our aid, are said to have come to spy out the land. It is more than likely that many of these are men who will not join the ranks of those who go to the mines or engage in business, but men who are accustomed to country pursuits, and intend to pursue them here. They ought to be an element of incalculable value. The great towns in South Africa, the seaports, Johannesburg and Kimberley are progressive enough. The backward parts are the country and its villages. Here the Australian will find conditions not dissimilar to those to which he has been accustomed, and some share of the energy and intelligence which have made Australia what it is, should, let us hope, prove contagious among his new neighbours. The sheep farms and cattle farms of the interior, the vineyards and orchards of the upper country, the wheat districts of the Cape and the Conquered Territory, should all afford opportunities to him. There are dams to build, and water to be bored for all over the arid parts of the country. What South Africa has suffered from more than from aught else has been the want of combination. Men have been content to live on their farms out of sight of a neighbour's house. They have refused to look

beyond the most local and immediate interests. Measures such as the Scab Acts have been bitterly opposed. One party has thwarted the proposals of the other quite irrespective of their merits. What steps have been taken in the way of improving the country have in many cases been undertaken in a niggardly and penny-wise fashion. What is wanted is not intermittent doles of free dip, or grants for building small and useless dams, but schemes proportioned to the size of the country, largely conceived and patiently carried out. The more men who can be induced to come to it with other and wider experience and enterprise, the better for the country.

The other proposal which has been mooted is that as many as possible of the Reservists now serving in South Africa should be induced to stay. The scheme has been made public by Mr. Arnold Forster, and has been appreciatively noted by the Cape Press. The proposal recalls the plan adopted by Lord Bathurst in 1820, when a large number of British settlers were settled along what was then the Eastern boundary of the Colony. Their descendants are now the occupiers of the Eastern Province, in all respects the most progressive and loyal portion of the Colony. If the present proposal is carried out, many of the settlers will no doubt follow the occupations they did at home. Some will no doubt be settled on the land, and others drafted into a militia or police force. The scheme is an excellent one, both for the country and for the men themselves. If carried out it will mean that a considerable number of men with trades and, what we hope may never be called on again, military training and experience, will be distributed over a country where, with ordinary conditions, they should have a much better chance of improving their condition than at home. There are two things to be guarded against. Men must not be given grants of land at haphazard; the conditions here are widely different from those say in Canada or Queensland. And care must be taken that men do not do as they have already done in similar cases, sell their grants for next to nothing and come to no good. With the restoration of peace the tide of private immigration should set in once more. The mines of the Transvaal will continue to attract a constant stream of newcomers, and further north there

are other places which promise to become centres of population. Whether anything in the nature of a South African Emigration Scheme will be attempted remains to be seen.

The writer has dwelt on the rural aspect of South Africa's future, partly because it is the side with which he is most conversant, partly because, as has already been said, the country and the country districts are the portions which stand in need of fresh blood. Rural life in South Africa has never loomed large in the popular eye. The country has been looked on as a place to make fortunes in, the pleasure seeker has summed it up in Kimberley and Johannesburg, and all beyond has been dismissed as an arid and hopeless wilderness, abandoned to wild beasts, Boers, and sportsmen. Yet the fact is that farm life is the best of South Africa. There seems a fascination in the free life on the broad plains amid daily sunshine. In spite of insular prejudices, the people are not different from those in the old country. The means of communication are good. A post-cart reaches every corner of the country, and, what to the new-comer seems a most wise provision, the postal system of the whole country hinges on the English mail. Books and magazines, and all the etceteras of civilisation, are to be found everywhere. There should be opportunities for men who care to take to this kind of life, when the Cape cannot supply enough agricultural produce for its own wants, when thousands of square miles are only half developed, and new centres of population are springing up every year.

In a recent address the High Commissioner warned us against expecting that the war would be followed by a boom. In his own opinion the progress of South Africa will be sure but gradual. Owing to the nature of the country it cannot be otherwise. Socially, the work of assimilation of various races, and the gradual levelling up of backward sections, will not be accomplished in one generation or two. And the material problems which have to be solved, will not be worked off in a day, but will require much energy and capital to be sunk before they begin to offer any return. It was a shrewd Afrikander who said, 'Wait a bit, and all will come right.'

ART. IX.—A FATHER OF HISTORY.

SELDOM has the personal ambition of one man had more remarkable consequences than those which followed from the determination of Harald the Fair-haired to make himself sole king over Norway. Whatever truth there may be in the old story that it was a proud woman who impelled him to imitate Eirik, the Swedish, and Gorm, the Danish king, or in the record of his vow neither to cut nor comb his hair till either Norway or death was his, the aim was one that he carried out to the end ; the after-results were such as he could not foresee. With the Battle of Hafrsfirth in 872 his object was accomplished, and the only choice left to the great men who still survived was to bow to the new regime, or seek other lands where they might be their own masters as before. To those—and they were many—who took the latter alternative, the discovery of Iceland opened up a welcome refuge. For fifty or sixty years a steady stream of colonists from Norway poured into the new country, either directly or in some cases by way of Scotland and Ireland ; and it is no wonder if the ferment of this movement brought many remarkable men to the front—men whose deeds were to live in tradition and become cherished memories among their posterity. In another fifty or sixty years came an important change ; the old religion, which had already lost much of its hold, was by special legislation set aside in favour of Christianity (in the year 1000), and while Icelanders still continued to play a manly part in the affairs of Norway, their own island soon became more commonplace in its doings than it had been in the days of their fathers. Many of its prominent men found more delight in the book than in the sword ; they were attracted to the Church for the sake of the learning it brought with it, and without becoming real ecclesiastics, or in any way giving up their temporal position and authority, they were ordained as priests, and with remarkable zeal devoted themselves to study.

The desire of reading was not long in being followed by the wish to write, and a certain natural tendency in the Ice-

landic mind made it almost inevitable that the subject should be history. To know what had happened in bygone times, and to learn as soon as possible what was happening at the moment, whether in Iceland or in the outside world, was the chief intellectual employment of the average Icelander, and a tenacious tradition had preserved a mass of facts relating not only to the early settlers and their descendants, but to events in Norway, Denmark, and elsewhere, both before and after the colonizing days. To this bent of the Icelandic mind we owe almost all our knowledge of the early history of the other Scandinavian countries, which in time completely forgot their own story, and had to learn what they could of it from the traditions preserved in that remote island of the Atlantic. The very name of Harold the Fair-haired would barely be known, to say nothing of his exploits, were it not for the men who proudly left their own country to him, not finding it large enough for both.

It is to this fondness for tradition that we owe the great body of literature commonly lumped together under the title of the 'Icelandic Sagas.' The term is vague enough, and its vagueness probably accounts for the prevalent misconceptions as to what the 'Sagas' are. When even professed literary men can write articles on the subject which have almost the effect of nightmares (e.g., that in Dr. Brewer's *Readers' Handbook*), the ordinary man may well be excused for believing that the sagas are poems. A saga is a 'story' in prose, and the subject-matter of the tale may be anything between veracious history and the wildest fiction; it is very much as if the works of Professor Freeman and Rider Haggard were included under the common title of 'narrative.' The common feature of most sagas, however, is the prominence of the biographical element; the persons are the real centre of interest rather than the affairs in which they are engaged, and the picturesque or dramatic element is strongly marked.

History shades off into fiction by imperceptible degrees, and it is a curious point in Icelandic literary history that the latter gradually mastered the former. As we shall see, the foundations of the literature were laid in a strict weighing of tradi-

tion, a careful sifting of proved fact from specious legend, and the example thus set was worthily followed for a time. But the fund of genuine tradition was not inexhaustible, and the taste for the marvellous steadily increased, fed partly by saints' legends and partly by foreign romances. The mythical periods of Scandinavian history began to attract the writers of sagas, and when even these were spun out to the last thread, the web of pure fiction continued to unfold its lengthening course till it lost all freshness of colour or pattern, and saga-writing became almost a mechanical art. The sagas which are really valuable, both for style and for matter, were all written within a remarkably short period, approximately from 1170 to 1230 A.D., and later specimens, with few exceptions, show a steady descent in both linguistic and historic feeling.

So remarkable is the work done in this golden age of Icelandic literature, that it is of great interest to note particularly the groundwork upon which it rested. The matter of course was traditional, and the exact historic value of the tradition varied greatly according to the subject and the locality. Even of the most notorious facts there would very often be discrepant versions, and minor inconsistencies and contradictions would inevitably exist in many a tale. To remove or reconcile these, and to fit the indefinite tradition into an exact historic framework, was the task which fell to the lot of each saga-writer, and the way in which he accomplished it was to no small extent the measure of his genius. For the gatherer of local traditions, however, there existed a safe historic guide in the work of the man to whom, so far as can now be ascertained, classic Icelandic literature owed its character and origin. By a rare piece of good fortune, the man with the combining mind came at the beginning, and laid down a comprehensive scheme which served to guide the later writers who worked out the separate details.

This 'Father of History,' as he well deserves to be called (though the title of the 'Icelandic Herodotus' would more aptly apply to another) was a western Icelander named Ari Thorgilsson, sometimes surnamed 'the priest,' and sometimes

'the learned,' not seldom both epithets are combined.* Ari was born in the year 1067, and his ancestry was sufficiently distinguished to encourage any natural tendency in his mind to a study of the past. On his father's side he was a descendant of Olaf the White, who in the latter half of the ninth century was Norse king in Dublin. Olaf's son, Thorstein the Red, made league with Earl Sigurd of the Orkneys against the Scots; 'they won Caithness and Sutherland, Ross and Moray, and more than half of Scotland. Thorstein was king over this, until the Scots played him false and he fell there in battle.' Thorstein's wife, a remarkable woman, left Scotland after this and became one of the most famous among the early settlers in Iceland; from her son, Olaf Feilan, Ari was the sixth in descent. To trace his relationship to other men and women of note would be tedious, but it is worth mentioning that his great-grandfather, Thorkell, was one of the husbands of that Gudrun round whom the chief interest of *Laxdöla Saga* centres, and that his mother's father had taken part in the battle of Clontarf. A knowledge of the adventures of his own forefathers would in itself have been enough to establish Ari as an authority in biography and history.

Ari's father, Thorgils, was drowned in Broadfirth while still a young man, and the child was left to the care of his grandfather, Gellir, who lived at Helgafell on Snæfellsness.† But in a year or two Gellir went abroad, and made a pilgrimage to Rome; on his return journey he was taken ill in Denmark, died there, and was buried at Roskilde. Besides this personal loss, his family had also to regret that of the sword Sköfnung, which, it was said, had been taken out of the grave-mound of Hrólfs Kraki—another indication of the atmosphere of ancient legend in which Ari was reared.

* *Ari prestr enn fróði Thorgilsson*; the adj. *fróðr*, which in its general sense means 'knowing,' or 'learned,' commonly implies the possession of great historical knowledge, and is a regular epithet of the early Icelandic historians.

† The great promontory on the west coast of Iceland, separating Faxaflói from Broadfirth.

At the age of seven (in 1074) Ari passed into the household of Hall Thórarinsson, who had his home in Haukadal in Southern Iceland, a spot now famous for the great Geysir and other hot springs, which are never mentioned in the old literature, perhaps did not even exist then. Hall was already a man of eighty, and had been settled in Haukadal for half a century, but in his younger days he had been in partnership with Olaf Haraldsson, that king of Norway who fell in civil feud at Stiklastad, and is better known as Olaf the Saint. To Hall's great age, wide experience, and marvellous memory, the young Ari owed much of the historical knowledge he then acquired, either directly or through another foster-son of Hall's, Teit the son of Bishop Isleif. As Ari says himself:—‘ Teit was fostered by Hall in Haukadal, that man of whom it was universally said that he was the most generous and noble character to be found among the unlearned* men of this country. I came to Hall when I was seven years old, the year after the death of Gellir Thorkilsson, my grandfather and fosterer, and I was with him for fourteen winters.’ Teit, however, was so much older than Ari, that the latter even calls him his foster-father. ‘ He taught Ari,’ says Snorri Sturluson, in the prologue to his *Heimskringla*, ‘ and told him many historical facts which Ari wrote down afterwards.’ How far back Hall's own recollections went is emphasized by Ari himself—‘ Hall told me so, and he was both truthful and had a good memory. He remembered his own baptism by Thangbrand when he was three years old—that was the year before Christianity was adopted by law in this country’ (i.e., in 999).

Hall Thorarinsson died in 1089, and remarkably little is known of Ari's life after that date. He was one of those ‘ men of rank who studied and were ordained as priests;’ he was on terms of intimacy with the great men of his age, such as the Bishops of Hólar and Skálholt, but even his place of abode is uncertain, though the probability is that he lived at Stad on Snæfellness. The exact date of his death is known; it was Nov. 9, 1148.

* The adjective of course only means that Hall had not studied: ignorant he certainly was not.

Gifted with a genius for historical research, Ari seems to have devoted his life to collecting, comparing, and sifting the traditions and recollections of the most credible and capable informants that he was able to come in contact with. The actual scope of his written work has been much discussed,* and some points will probably always remain obscure, but the value of his researches into Scandinavian history is a fact as fully recognised by his own age as by modern scholars. Snorri Sturluson, in the prologue to *Heimskringla*, gives the following eloquent testimony to the work of his predecessor:

‘Ari the learned, son of Thorgils, son of Gellir, was the first man in this country who wrote in Icelandic both ancient and recent history; in the beginning of his book he wrote chiefly about the colonization of Iceland and legislative measures, then about the law-speakers, how long each of them held office, and gave the number of years, first to the date when Christianity came to Iceland, and then right on to his own days. He included also many other things, as the lives of the Kings in Norway and Denmark, and even in England, or great events which had happened in this country, and the whole of his account seems to me most notable. He had great knowledge, and was so old that he was born the year after the death of Harald Sigurdsson.† He wrote (as he says himself) the lives of the Kings of Norway after information given by Odd, son of Koll, son of Hall of Sida; and Odd got it from Thorgeir, an intelligent man, and so old that he was living in Nidarnes, when Earl Hákon the Mighty was slain.’ (995).

Snorri then speaks of Hall Thorarinsson, Teit Isleifson, and other authorities whom Ari quotes, and ends with the words:

‘It was no wonder though Ari was well informed with regard to historic events both here and abroad, for he had learned them from old and intelligent men, and was himself both eager to learn and had a good memory.’

While the whole of Ari’s work has, unfortunately, not come down to us in the shape in which Snorri knew it, the first part of his description of Ari’s ‘book’ agrees in every detail with

* In recent times chiefly by the following writers:—Konrad Maurer in *Germania*, XV. and XXXVI.; Björn Magnusson Olsen in *Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed*, 1885 and 1893; and in *Tímarit hins ísl. Bókm.* X.; Finnur Jónsson in *Den oldislandske Litteraturs Historie*, II., 354.

† Who fell at Stamfordbridge in 1066.

what we still possess. That even this remains to us is a rare piece of good fortune, comparable to the lucky chances which have preserved the *Beowulf* or *Gawain and the Green Knight* in our own literature. Ari's results had been so carefully absorbed by later saga-writers that his own work apparently fell into neglect, and was no longer copied. One old vellum, however, survived till the seventeenth century (then believed to be by Ari's own hand), and came into the possession of Bishop Brynjólf Sveinsson, whose interest in the old literature led him to get it carefully and exactly copied by his scribe, Jón Erlendsson. For some reason or other Jón made two copies of it, one slightly better than the other, and, as the original is now lost, these transcripts are the sole authority for the text of Ari's work. As Jón was plainly at considerable trouble to reproduce exactly the orthography of the old vellum, the loss is less serious than it might have been, though still one to be deeply regretted.

The treatise thus preserved is headed *Schedæ Ara prests frøda*, but Ari's own name for his little primer of Icelandic history was *I'slendingabók*, or 'Book of Icelanders.' In a short prologue, which has caused much misunderstanding and discussion, the historian explains how his pamphlet came to have its present form:—

'The 'Book of Icelanders,' I made first for our bishops Thorlák * and Ketill,† and showed it both to them and to Sæmund ‡ the priest; and according as it pleased them to have it so (as it was), or to add to it, I then wrote this on the same subject, but omitting the lives of the Kings and the genealogies, and adding whatever new information I had got, so that certain things are more clearly told in this than in my former work. But whatever is wrongly told in this history, it is our duty to accept the version that is proved to be the most correct.'

* Thorlák Runólfsson, born 1087, became bishop of Skálholt in 1118, and died 1133. His grandfather was brother to Hall Thórarinsson, Ari's foster-father.

† Ketill Thorsteinsson, second Bishop of Hólar, held the see from 1122 to 1145.

‡ Sæmund 'enn fródi' (1056-1133), also a great authority on historical matters, but if he wrote on the subject it must have been in Latin. The idea that the poetic 'Edda' was compiled by him is a myth of the seventeenth century.

A comparison of this somewhat obscurely worded preface with Snorri's account quoted above, makes it pretty clear that the first recension of the *Islendingabók* contained much matter which was omitted in the second. On this point scholars are now pretty generally agreed, but there is still difference of opinion as to what Ari did with the omitted portions. Some hold that the first version, with the King's Lives and Icelandic genealogies, still remained in circulation; others believe that Ari expanded both of these sections into separate works, which then formed the basis for the *Konunga Söyur* and *Landnámaþók* respectively. However this may be, it is certain that Ari's researches were of great value to the compilers of these last-named works, and beyond this it is perhaps impossible to go.*

When Ari had thus got rid of much extraneous matter, his treatise contained the following chapters:—

- I. The Colonizing of Iceland; II. The First Settlers and the First Laws; III. The Institution of the Al-thingi; IV. The Calendar; V. The Division of Iceland into Quarters; VI. The Colonization of Greenland; VII. The Coming of Christianity to Iceland; VIII. Foreign Bishops; IX. Bishop Isleif; X. Bishop Gizurr.

These titles indicate clearly the main lines of Ari's work: he wished to give in brief compass the chief facts relating to the political and ecclesiastical history of his country. These facts were selected from a mass of tradition with a critical taste which infallibly seized on what was really important, without being drawn aside by what was merely picturesque. We have no ground to assume that Ari did not appreciate the strongly dramatic and romantic element which is one of the chief merits of the best sagas, but this was not the place for it: here he was all for fact. The frame of a window is not concerned with the colours of the stained glass which the artist puts into it, and Ari was the maker of the frame—an opera-

* References to Ari in later writers are collected by Finnur Jónasson in *Den oldislandske Litteraturs Historie*, II., 370-372. It has been suggested that Ari omitted the 'Lives of Kings' because Sæmund had dealt with that subject in a (Latin) work of his own, and there may be some truth in this.

tion which also calls for skill and judgment in the worker, and at any rate a necessary preliminary.

A history of Iceland had the great advantage of being able to begin at a definite point; the discovery and settling of the island could be dated within a few years, and there was no misty past to be accounted for. The first thing to be done, therefore, was to fix this date as nearly as possible, and Ari's way of doing so is highly characteristic of his methods:—

'Iceland was first colonized from Norway in the days of Harald the Fair-haired, son of Hálfdan the Black, at the time (according to the estimate and calculation of Teit, my foster-father, the cleverest man I ever knew, and of Thorkell, my father's brother, who could remember a long way back, and of Thurid, the daughter of Snorri, who was a very clever woman and accurate in her facts) that Ivar, the son of Ragnar Lodbrók, put to death St. Edmund, the English king, and that was 870 winters after the birth of Christ, according to what is written in his saga. Ingólf was the name of the Norseman who is said with truth to have been the first to go from Norway to Iceland, when Harold the Fair-haired was 16 winters old, and for the second time a few years later: he settled south in Reykjavík. The place where he first landed is called Ingólfshéð, to the east of Minthaks-eyri; and Ingólfss-fell, to the west of Ölfuss-á, is where he afterwards took possession. At that time Iceland was covered with wood between the hills and the beach. There were Christian men here then, whom the Norsemen call *pápar*, but they went away afterwards, as they would not stay here along with heathens; they left behind them Irish books, bells, and crosiers, from which one might conclude that they were Irishmen.'

'After this there was much coming of men out of Norway, until King Harald forbade it, because he thought his own country would soon be left waste. It was then agreed that every man who came here from Norway should pay the king 5 *aurar*,[†] unless he was specially exempted. That was the beginning of the payment now called *land-aurar*; but the amount was sometimes more, sometimes less, until Olaf the Stout[‡] made it a fixed thing that every man who voyaged between Norway and Iceland should pay the king half a mark, except women or those whom he exempted. So we were told by Thorkell Gellison.'—(Chapter I.)

* These were Culdee hermits, who sought to cut themselves off from the world by going to desolate places. That they reached Iceland is also known from the work of Dicuil, *De mensura orbis terræ*.

† There were eight *aurar* in a mark or half-pound of silver. The money-value naturally varied at different periods.

‡ The common name given to Olaf the Saint by his contemporaries.

It will be noticed here that Ari, with his usual caution, does not profess to give the exact year in which the colonization of Iceland began, but confines himself to the statement (for which he is careful to quote his authorities) that it was contemporaneous, more or less, with the death of St. Edmund in 870. Further, he says nothing about the first *discoverers* of the island (of whom *Landnámabók* has a good deal to say), but prefers to bring into prominence the first real *colonist*, Ingolf, of whom *Landnámabók* says that he was 'the most famous of all the early settlers.' Ari then mentions four other important colonists, and indicates the families descended from them, after which he proceeds to explain how the new country was kept in order :—

'When Iceland had been widely settled, an eastern* man, whose name was Úlfjót, first brought laws out here from Norway; so Teit told me. They were called Úlfjót's laws, and most of them were adopted from those of the Gula-thing,† with additions, omissions, and alterations suggested by Thorleif the Wise. Úlfjót lived east in Lón; it is said that Grím Geitskör was his foster-brother, who explored all Iceland by his advice, before the place of yearly assembly was decided on. Every man in the country gave him a *penning*‡ for that, but he afterwards gave the money for religious purposes.'—(Chap. II.)

For centuries the yearly assembly, the *Al-thingi*, was the great centre of political and social life in Iceland, and its importance was clearly recognised from the first by the settlers. Hence the anxiety to have the place of meeting carefully selected, and hence the minuteness with which Ari enters into the point.

'The Al-thingi was set where it now is, by the counsel of Úlfjót and all the men of the country, but before that there was a yearly assembly at Kjalar ness.§ A man who had land in Bláskógar was outlawed for the murder of a thrall or freedman; his name was Thord kroppin-skeggi, and his daughter's son was Thorvald kroppin-skeggi, who afterwards went to the East-firths, and there burned his brother Gunnar in his

* 'Eastern' and 'Eastman' usually denote a native of Norway.

† *i.e.* The yearly assembly held on the island of Gul in North Hördaland (the Bergen-district of Norway).

‡ The value of the *penning* varied greatly.

§ North from Reykjavík.

house. So Hall Órœkjunson said. The murdered man's name was Kol ; after him is named the cleft called Kols-gjá, in which the body was found. That land then became public property, and the settlers devoted it to the holding of the Al-thingi ; for that reason every one has the right to cut wood in the forests there, and to pasture his horses on the hills, during the assembly. Úlfhedin told me this.' (Chap. II.)

By this time (930 A.D.) the colonising period had come to an end, and the island was fully settled. The first law-speaker, or president of the Al-thingi, was appointed 'sixty winters after the death of King Edmund, or two before the death of King Harald, according to the calculation of clever men.'

In Chapter IV. Ari gives an interesting account of how the Icelanders reformed their calendar. They had been reckoning the year at 364 days,* and in the course of time they began to see that the summer of the almanac was moving back into spring-time. No one could clear up the problem, until Thorstein Surt puzzled it out. He dreamed that he was at the law-hill; in the midst of a numerous assembly, and that he was awake while all the rest were asleep, but presently *he* slept and all the others woke up. This dream he told to Osvíf Helgason, an ancestor of Ari himself, and Osvíf interpreted it to mean that there would be general silence while he spoke at the law-hill, and general applause when he ceased speaking. At the following assembly Thorstein proposed to amend the calendar by intercalating a week every seventh year, and 'seeing how that would work.' The proposal was supported by various prominent men, and was adopted there and then. Ari then explains the matter thus :—

'By correct computation there are in every year 365 days, or 366 in a leap year ; by our reckoning there are 364, and if every seventh year in our reckoning is increased by a week, and no addition made in the other style, then seven years are the same length in both calendars.'

There seems to be an error here ; either Ari has forgotten the leap-year which would necessarily fall among the seven, or the intercalated week must have been one of eight days.

* 'Four days of the fourth hundred' is how Ari phrases it ; the hundred being 120, three of these make 360, to which is added 4 'of the fourth hundred.'

The Icelandic division of the year has always remained a peculiar one, but naturally enough Ari does not enter into particulars of this, as it was not a matter of history, but of common knowledge.* After a chapter (V.) in which the reasons for, and constitution of, local assemblies in the four districts of the island are explained (on the authority of the law-speaker Ulshedin Gunnarson), Ari has a short account of an interesting event, the discovery of Greenland.

'The land called Greenland was discovered and colonized from Iceland. Eirik the Red, of Broadfirth, was the name of the man who went out there from here, and took land at the place since called Eiriksfirth. He gave a name to the country, and called it Greenland, saying that the fact of the land having a good name would make men eager to go there. They found traces of human occupation both in the east and west of the country, and pieces of boats and stone vessels, from which one may infer the former presence of the race that inhabited *Vínland*, whom the Greenlanders call *Sorcelings*. The date at which he began to occupy the country was fourteen or fifteen winters before Christianity came to Iceland, as one who went out with Eirik the Red reckoned up to Thorkell Gellison † in Greenland.'

To one who, like Ari, had profited so much by the new learning introduced by the Church, the coming of Christianity into Iceland was naturally a matter of the greatest interest. The great change had taken place at a time not very remote from his own days: it fell within the lifetime of his foster-father Hall, though he was only four years old at the time. It is not unnatural, therefore, that the longest chapter in the book is the one dealing with this theme. With his usual disregard of extraneous matters, Ari says nothing of the two early attempts which failed, but seizes at once upon the fact that the conversion of Iceland was due to King Olaf Tryggvason. The King, full of a Christianising zeal which often led him into somewhat un-Christian acts, sent to Iceland a priest named Thangbrand, who was a true specimen of the Church Mili-

* An interesting account (with table) is given in the preface to Jón Thorkelson's *Obituaria Islandica*, 1896.

† *i.e.*, the Icelanders in Greenland, who gave the Eskimo the name of *Sorcelings*.

‡ Ari's uncle.

tant, and not only baptized a certain number of the leading men, but killed two or three who opposed his preaching and made him the object of their satire. When Thangbrand returned to Norway and reported that his mission had been on the whole a failure, Olaf seized all Icelanders then in Norway, and threatened to make them suffer for the obstinacy of their countrymen. This incident forms a striking section in *Laxdæla Saga*, but Ari merely mentions that the king's wrath was appeased by Gizurr the White and Hjalti Skeggjason, two of those who had accepted the faith through the preaching of Thangbrand. They offered to do what they could in the matter, and in the following summer (1000 A.D.) they sailed to Iceland; 'they reached Vestmanna-eyjar,' off the south coast, 'when ten weeks of summer had passed, and all had gone well with them; Teit said that he learned this from one who was there.' In spite of the fact that Hjalti had been outlawed for blasphemy against Odin and Frey, both he and Gizurr went to the Assembly, and there spoke eloquently in favour of the new religion. Their action brought matters to a crisis; Christians and heathens solemnly renounced each other's laws. Then the Christians asked Hall of Sida to proclaim laws suitable to their religion, but Hall transferred the task to the law-speaker, Thorgeir, who was still a heathen. The Assembly broke up for the day, and all went to their booths or temporary dwellings. When Thorgeir reached his, he lay down with his fur-cloak over his head, and remained in that position all the rest of the day and the following night, without uttering a word. Next morning he rose up, and summoned the Assembly to the Law-hill. There he disclosed the results of his silent deliberations, pleading that it was impossible to have two sets of laws in the country, as such a division would only lead to continual enmity and strife. 'I think it best,' said he, 'not to let those who are most determined on either side have it all their own way, but to mediate between them so that both sides shall gain some of the points they contend for. Let us all have one law and one religion, for it is perfectly certain that if we split the laws we shall also split the peace.' His hearers agreed to this,

and left the decision in his own hands. 'Then,' says Ari, 'it was made a law that all men should be Christians and receive baptism, but the old laws about exposing children and eating horseflesh should remain in force. Men might sacrifice to the heathen gods privately if they chose, but it was a matter of outlawry if any were witness to it. But within a few years these heathen practices were also abolished. This is the account which Teit gave me of how Christianity came to Iceland. Olaf Tryggvason fell that same summer, according to Sæmund the priest. . . . That was 130 winters after the slaying of Edmund, and 1000 after the birth of Christ.'

As has been already remarked, the new religion was not long in transforming the character of Icelandic life. The stormy times of the tenth century were succeeded by a period of comparative calm, and the eleventh century offered to Ari no great historical event beyond those directly connected with the Church or with the law. There is thus a distinct falling-off in general interest in the later chapters of the *Islendingabók*, although they contain several interesting passages, and some of great importance, as showing how much care Ari took to get the most reliable authority possible for his statements.

The list of foreign bishops who had been in Iceland is a mere roll of names, and the rest of Chapter VIII. only continues the catalogue of the Law-speakers, with a few words concerning one of them, Skapti, who died in the same year as Olaf the Saint (1030). Ari next gives some particulars relating to the first Icelandic bishop, Isleif, the father of Ari's own instructor, Teit. Then come the Law-speakers again, and the interesting note, 'in these days (1076) came Sæmund Sigfusson to this country from France, and afterwards took priest's orders.' Sæmund was at this time twenty years old, and how long he had been in France it is impossible to say, but later tradition maintained firmly that his studies there were mainly in the Black Art; in Icelandic folk-lore Sæmund occupies the same position as Virgil in that of Italy.* Probably

*The various legends relating to him are collected in Jón Arnason's work, I., 485-502.

much of Sæmund's learning was on different lines from that common among his countrymen, but it is clear that Ari was attracted to him mainly on account of his interest in history.

Isleif's son, Gizur, also became a bishop, two years after his father's death. In the following year Markus Skeggjason became law-speaker, and we now learn how Ari obtained the list of these presidents of the Assembly,—a list which forms the chief basis of his chronology. 'From the account given by Markus are written the lives of all the law-speakers in this book who lived before my own day: his brother Thorarin and his father Skeggi and other intelligent men had told him about those who were before his time, after the account given by his grandfather Bjarni, who remembered Thorarin the law-speaker, and six of his successors.'

While the few remaining pages of the *Book of Icelanders* are not without their interest, enough has probably been quoted to show the strictly critical way in which Ari dealt with the traditional information available to him. When he closes his treatise with the death of Gizurr, however, he makes a supreme effort in comparative chronology, which is worth giving in full:—

'In that same year died Pope Paschal the second (earlier than Bishop Gizurr), and Baldwin, King of Jerusalem, and Arnald the Patriarch of Jerusalem, and Philip, King of the Swedes. Later in the same summer died Alexis, King of the Greeks; he had by that time occupied the throne at Constantinople for 38 years. Two years later was the end of a lunar cycle. In that year Eysteinn and Sigurd had been for 17 years kings in Norway after their father Magnus, son of Olaf Haraldsson. That was 120 winters after the fall of Olaf Tryggvason, and 250 after the slaying of Edmund the English king, and 516 after the death of Pope Gregory, who introduced Christianity into England. He died in the second year of the reign of the emperor Phokas, 604 years after the birth of Christ, according to the common reckoning. That makes in all 1120 years. *Here ends this Book.*'

In spite of the emphatic statement with which this paragraph closes, the old vellum copied by Jón Erlendsson adds another two sections, one of which gives the genealogies of four Icelandic bishops, while the other contains Ari's own family-tree. The latter starts with Yngvi, King of the Turks,

and comes down through Swedish and Norwegian kings and Icelandic yeomen, till No. 36 is reached: this is 'Gellir, father of Thorkell (the father of Brand) and of Thorgils, my father, and my name is ARI.' Scholars are now agreed that these two sections are really part of the first recension of the *I'slendingabók*, happily preserved in this copy of the later version, but having no real connection with it. In fact, they are specimens of the genealogies which Ari expressly says that he had omitted.

As to the date at which Ari's little book was written, there have been some differences of opinion, but the manner in which the year 1120 is emphasized at the close makes it probable that Ari wrote within a very few years of that date. Later than 1133 it cannot well have been, for in that year died Bishop Thorlák, to whom Ari submitted the first recension of his book.

That in the first quarter of the twelfth century, and in a country so remote from literary centres as Iceland, a man should have arisen with so clear an idea of the criteria of historical evidence, with so little inclination to accept what was legendary and fabulous, and with so strong a sense for what was of real importance in the history of his country, is a fact that becomes only the more surprising by comparison. If we set Geoffrey of Monmouth's ambitious *Historia Britonum* beside Ari's modest *I'slendingabók*, we see at once the difference between the true historian and the uncritical or unprincipled romancer. There can be no doubt that Ari was well enough acquainted with the legendary history of Norway and Sweden, such as we have it in the early pages of *Heimskringla*. The list of his own ancestors is sufficient to establish that fact, but Ari also knew perfectly how broad a gulf there was between fact and fiction, and while he may have enjoyed the latter he clearly preferred to write about the former. The weighing of historical evidence, the demand that only original authorities shall be used, is not a new device of historians, though more prominent in late years than formerly. Ari's work is a proof that these principles were as authoritative then for one who had to glean his facts from the mouths of men as they are now

for the student who spends his days in the Record Office or the Register House. In what is greatest and most attractive in Icelandic literature, Ari has certainly no immediate share, for the great sagas belong to the century following on his death ; but, on the other hand, some of these sagas would rest on even more unstable foundations than they do, were it not that their authors guided themselves by Ari's dates. When a saga-writer can say ' So said Ari,' he plainly feels that he is on safe ground ; and though the excellence of a saga depends more on the literary genius of its author than on its historic value, yet it is largely due to him that the two merits are often found together. Even if the only copy of his treatise had perished, the references in the sagas would of themselves have vindicated for Ari the position of a ' father of history.'

W. A. CRAIGIE.

ART. X.—THE THIRD CHAPTER OF THE WAR.

HOSTILITIES continue, but the war is virtually over. The Vierkleur has been hauled down at Pretoria, and the Empire has escaped the two great dangers which threatened it from opposite quarters in South Africa. Dutch Afrikanderism has passed into the land of lost causes, and the greater though less immediate evil of an Anglo-Saxon republic in the Transvaal has been rendered impossible. The British Government is to be congratulated that it has succeeded in putting down the one, and failed in its endeavour to set up the other. If it be but moderately wise in the settlement of the conquered territories, we may depend upon the South African Dutch to become eventually the staunchest supporters of the Imperial connection. In process of time, when the bubble of political independence has fairly burst, and they find themselves, instead of governing, permanently in the minority of the Colonial Parliaments, they will naturally turn to the supreme government for the protection of their property and privileges from local encroachments, and will shrewdly

appreciate the right of appeal to the British Cæsar as the sheet anchor of their vested interests. As to the English settlers in the Transvaal, never more will they be invited to renounce their birth-right for a share in the fortunes of an alien community, and their children and their children's children will enjoy the noble heritage of the British people in a land which has been happily saved from becoming the asylum of polyglot rascality, and the dumping ground of the world's refuse.

And now that we are about to take the *quondam* Republics unto ourselves, for better or for worse, it would be as well if the British would go to the trouble of acquiring some knowledge of the South African Dutch as they really are, and not as they have been depicted in accordance with various and dissimilar notions of expediency and patriotism. How it may be north of the Tweed I will not pretend to say, but south of it, at any rate, the accepted portraits of the typical Boer—there are two of them—have been painted strictly to order, and though possibly works of art, are both most curiously unlike the original. Those who go to Church, and vote with the brewing interest, hold him to be a swarthy half caste, cunning and ferocious, of unsavoury habits, and unmentionable morals. Those, on the other hand, who attend Chapel, and are for free trade in vaccination, have made him into a Protestant hero—Admiral Coligny turned farmer, in fact—of law-abiding instincts and primitive simplicity. This would be all very well in the commonwealth of a debating club, but we are dealing with the affairs of an Empire, and it behoves us to take the Boers seriously, for to-day they are our foes in the field, and to-morrow we would have them our friends and fellow-subjects.

Now in sober truth the Boer, if we must make an abstraction of him, is neither saint nor sinner. He is not in the least like a Huguenot noble, and he certainly is not a black man, nor related to one.* He is, in fact, a very ordinary

* Mistakes in this respect may have arisen from the custom at the Cape of calling every one Dutch who is not distinctly English, and the habit of applying the term "Afrikander" to a population of half-caste servants and Christianised Kaffirs, which has grown up since the abolition of slavery.

individual, with nothing at all sensational in his composition, and more notable for his deficiencies and limitations than for any predominating qualities of his own, good or bad. As the outcome of a society having no aristocracy, and no leisured class, he is at his best only a well-to-do yeoman, manly and hospitable, but uncultured and narrow-minded. At his worst, he is a coarse peasant, often morose, rather avaricious, and given to the letter, more than to the spirit of truthfulness. Country gentlemen and sportsmen generally get on well with the Boers, but townsmen of the middle class are intolerant of the survival in them of ideas and customs altogether out of date in Western Europe.

It has often been said that the South African Dutch have much in common with the lowland Scotch of eighty or ninety years ago. It may be so, but the resemblance is, I think, rather superficial. This, at least, is certain—the Boers have no grand history to evoke their enthusiasm; no folk-lore to nourish their imagination; no national poetry to quicken their emotions, nor music all their own to bind it upon their hearts. All this, and more, the Scotch have long possessed, and such things are potent elements in the making of human beings.

In one point, however, the Boers are undoubtedly like the Scotch of days gone by, and that is in their sober and severe view of the present life, and their intense convictions as to the life to come. It is a very common thing for English people to speak of the Boers as hypocrites, not because they are so, but because English people fail to understand the peculiar influence which dogmatic religion has upon their thoughts and modes of action. Brought up ourselves in easy toleration of every conceivable creed, many of us have got to think of religion as mainly the subjective concomitant of benevolent effort, and are unable to credit the existence of a theology capable of obtruding itself upon the everyday affairs of an entire people, including those even who are personally devoid of devotional feeling. Yet so it is; and we have to face the paradox that a Boer may lack piety and yet possess religion.

Take an example. The Boer, who sells his land, may rob the Englishman who buys it, as much as the latter will presently the British public; but there the similarity ends, for

the Boer, much as he may dislike it, believes in an ever intervening supernatural government of the world, and this he does, not by effort of faith, but absolutely as a Londoner believes in the Mansion House ; consequently, though the dishonest Boer may prosper, he will live ever in fear of sudden vengeance, and look forward gloomily to future judgment. The English rogue, in contrast, will feel no discomfort. To such as he religion is but a graceful hobby, much like picture fancying or landscape gardening ; therefore he will eat and drink, esteeming himself a man of worth, and as for the future, will look forward cheerfully to a seat in Parliament.

Another case. A Boer may love and sin as recklessly as any Frenchman, and as men have loved and sinned since ever the world was ; but again the coincidence ends, for the Boer's environment and religious bias will sooner or later prove too strong for the blindness of passion. His madness will be of short duration, and he will take infinite pains to keep the knowledge of it from friends and neighbours. Not so the brilliant *enfant de siècle*. Mentally perfumed, and aesthetically adorned, ten to one he will announce himself the votary of a sublime cultus, and, secure in the sympathy of an admiring circle, will publish his hymn to Eros, put a flower in his button-hole, and glory in the excitement of fresh adventures.

Now, in both instances the men have behaved alike, but from the point of view of a military leader or civil governor, their characters will call for a widely different estimate, and this matter of character—the outcome of religious influence, or shall we say domination—is exactly what we must take stock of in our future policy. Had we done so from the first, we should have been more successful in our South African ventures. In the war now ending, for example, we should hardly have attempted to dazzle the Boers by the glamour of our Imperial prestige, and when it came to actual fighting, we should have known that the enemy, though they would deem it unlawful to murder their prisoners, outrage women, or maltreat the wounded, would assuredly take every advantage for which they could find a possible precedent in Old

Testament history, and would utterly scorn our conventional ideas of military honour, and of chivalry in warfare. We should have known, moreover, that they would certainly adopt the methods they had learned in their native wars, and we should have, therefore, prepared to meet them, instead of wasting words in angry remonstrance.

Without doubt the Boers have been irritating enemies. They have not only looted to supply their wants, but have wantonly demolished, and have caused us serious losses by their inexcusable *ruse* of feigned surrender under the white flag. For these and other acts of military vandalism, they have richly deserved far sharper reprisals than we have condescended to make; still, when we come to consider of what materials their army has been composed, including foreign adventurers, Dutch criminals, and British renegadoes, what is really surprising is that we have not had even more to complain of. If one calls to mind some of the doings of regular armies in times not remote, and still more, those of revolutionary levies, one cannot well say that the Boers have been pre-eminent in the way of atrocities. Have not towns been burnt, and non-combatants massacred in modern Europe? Do we not remember how Hungarian women were flogged in '48, and how franc-tireurs in '70 were exhorted to kill the German soldiers by bullet, knife, poison, or trap—no matter how—*so the pigs might be destroyed?* In America are not strange stories still whispered of dark deeds in the civil war? and in Ireland—but perhaps the less said of Ireland the better in this connection.

However, a judicial mind is rare in war time; and after all, a little honest wrath against the public enemy is not unwholesome, for it goes far to reconcile to the necessities of the moment many whose hearts are too tender to endure in cold blood the thought of deliberately inflicted suffering.

And this rather naturally leads on to the question, so often debated by conscientious Liberals—Was the war unavoidable? It was, for the Boers made it so; but it might have been far otherwise, if they had but acted differently in the early days following the retrocession. Had they then given their thanks to God, and their right hand to England; had they dropped the

memory of Majuba, and appointed Conciliation Day as the national holiday ; had they erected in Pretoria a statue of William Gladstone—in his hand an olive branch—its marble base adorned with carved figures of Justice and Mercy extinguishing the torch of war ; had they placed their militia in perpetuity at the disposal of the British Government in case of foreign invasion, and given preferential privilege to British trade—had they done these and like acts of prudence, they might with impunity have disallowed the naturalisation of aliens, and restricted the ownership of immovable property, thus establishing their political isolation beyond the reach of strangers friendly or unfriendly. Then would the Transvaal have become a Franco-Dutch family estate, under the protection of Great Britain, to be developed by its conservative owners, at their own pleasure, in their own good time, and would no doubt have prospered exceedingly, undisturbed by the tumultuous roar of the competing nations, and the distracting vicissitudes of the great world outside its quiet borders. But the Boers had neither eyes to see nor ears to hear. They revelled in self-conceit, they insulted the British Colonials, and insanely prated of the way they had defeated the British Army. Then they found gold, and in their awakened greed made haste to use and then despoil the British Capitalists. Finally they intrigued against the British Nation in its own colonies, and in a last paroxysm of madness flung themselves, armed, against the power of the British Empire. They have now before them a long repentance, relieved, if they are wise, by thankfulness that it is the British and no other power they have to deal with, and by the knowledge that, though they have for ever forfeited their independence, their personal liberty is still secure, and that they may hope, after due probation, to regain a reasonable measure of self-government and of influence.

The third chapter of the war ending with the fall of Pretoria was an eventful one, but I do not propose to describe the military operations at any length. The history of the second of Lord Roberts' great African campaigns will in due time have its place in the classic literature of the military profession, but for general readers the interest of it is confined to its results, and

this for the simple reason that the campaign was, from first to last, an unbroken series of successes.

If a North Sea trawler goes to pieces within sight of Scarborough, the entire public concerns itself with the tragedy, and every faddist has his say concerning light-house management and life-boat construction; but who knows, or wants to know how the great Cunarder, arriving so punctually at Liverpool, has managed to weather the Atlantic hurricane, or escape destruction from the icebergs in the dismal fog? As long as everything goes smoothly, no one cares how or why, and thus Lord Roberts is, at the present moment, not nearly the hero he would have been in popular estimation, had he treated the crowd to a good stand-up fight on his way to Johannesburg, and so appealed to their imagination by a brilliant and dramatic finish. Some commanders we have heard of would have taken care to do this, but Lord Roberts is a great soldier, not a political General, which makes all the difference.

After the taking of Bloemfontein a longish pause was necessary to rest the troops, repair the railway, renovate the units, obtain fresh horses for all branches, gather supplies, and bring the transport up to the requirements of the long and severe trial that awaited it. This occupied exactly six weeks, and when completed was a greater triumph of organisation even, than the famous month's preparation which ushered in the first Campaign; for, be it remembered, we had as yet possession of scarcely a third of the Orange State, and not a foot of ground in the Transvaal; and what was about to be done was the conquest and military occupation of another hundred thousand square miles of territory, by a continuous advance on the track of a broken-up railway, through a country denuded of supplies, and in the teeth of an active and resourceful enemy. But, so far, no one, not even the Divisional Generals, knew what was in the mind of the Field Marshal, and the public at home, anxious to advance the flags upon their toy war maps began to be impatient.

About this time several things occurred to increase the reaction, which was only natural after the carnival of rejoicing which followed the relief of Ladysmith. First of all came the ugly

mishap of Koorn Spruit, involving the loss of a great convoy and two invaluable Horse Artillery Batteries. This happened on 1st April, and was the first intimation of a general advance of the Boers, some 10,000 strong, between Bloemfontein and the Basuto border; then followed the disaster at Reddersburg with loss of six companies of Infantry on 4th April; after that the reoccupation of Thabanchu by the enemy, and then the isolation of Wepener and its garrison under Colonel Dalgety, on 7th April. The importance of these and some other minor rebuffs was greatly magnified in England, and compared to them a seemingly small success at Boshof, when de Villebois-Mareuil was killed, seemed but a trifling set-off.

The state of public opinion during the month of April is a striking example of the defective sense of proportion so generally exhibited in connection with the war. Critics and experts, no less than the multitude, have run with eyes upon the ground, and in their exaggerated attention to minutiae, have signally failed to appreciate the larger features of the situation. For this the multitude are not to be blamed, but surely the experts might have done better.

It was on the 17th of April, when the reaction just referred to was at its height, that the Government, with characteristic British tact, thought fit to make public what are known as the Spion Kop dispatches. It is a story of blunders, the greatest being its publication, and I refer to it on account of its notoriety, not because of its interest. This is in brief what happened:—Sir Redvers Buller, in his report on the second attempt to relieve Ladysmith, found no little fault with Sir Charles Warren, who carried out the operations under his general orders. Warren, in his own defence, represented that Buller, by interfering with the Divisional command, while the operations were in progress, had taken the responsibility for what was done, upon his own shoulders. Lord Roberts, having looked into the matter, came to the conclusion that both Generals were more or less to blame, and he reported in this sense to the Secretary of State for War when he forwarded the correspondence. So far there was nothing unusual. Armies are like public schools, and other big institutions, having a direct chain of authority; mistakes and misunderstand-

ings often occur in the management, and the chief has to report on the doings of his subordinates, but the governing committees adjust such matters with a minimum of fuss, and take care to keep their own counsel with outsiders. In like manner, it was for the Secretary of State either to displace one or both of the officers censured, or else to leave them in their commands, carefully abstaining from any act or word calculated to weaken their authority. Neither course was, however, adopted, but to the surprise of every one possessed of common sense and good feeling, these dispatches, or rather parts of them (for they were not complete), were published in the *London Gazette*, weeks after they were received, and when the officers concerned had just rendered new and important services to the country, and had had their share in brilliant victories for which the bells had been rung, and the flags had been waved, and the people had cheered from John o' Groat's to the Land's End.

There were, of course, abundant excuses put forward. The War Department had, it was said, been only too anxious to separate the confidential from the narrative before publication—but there were difficulties. Naturally there were. Why, then, publish at all? Why not file away these as many other dispatches had already been filed away?

Who the real culprit was in this affair we shall probably never know, but as figure-head, the Secretary of State had to bear the blame. If the incident had occurred in France, we should have accounted for it at once by the wire-pulling of intrigue, and the personal jealousies of those who would have gladly broken up the harmony of the command at the seat of war, and divided the public at home into partisans of rival Generals. In England, however, though intrigues and jealousies are by no means unknown, we have not yet sunk to the Continental level; therefore we may comfort ourselves that, bad as was the precedent set, it is not likely to be followed in a hurry; that, thanks to the good feeling in the army in South Africa, it did no great harm; and that it was really due to nothing worse than the honest, though great stupidity of *some person or persons unknown*.

While Lord Roberts was busy sharpening his sword at Bloemfontein, the Boers were by no means wasting their time.

On the 17th March, ten days after their defeat at Poplar Grove, a council of war was held at Pretoria, at which the Presidents, Kruger and Steyn, and the dying Joubert were present, and which was attended by about forty of the leading commanders, including De Wet, the younger Botha, and de Villebois-Mareuil. It was then decided—

1st. That in future less reliance must be placed on fortified positions, and that it would be well to operate with small commandoes dispensing, for the sake of mobility, with waggons and heavy guns.

2nd. That in the coming campaign the British should be delayed by the defence of the strategic positions north of Bloemfontein, in succession—avoiding decisive battles, however—and that while this was being done, there should be continual demonstrations against the British line of communications, with special attention to small bodies of troops employed to guard them in exposed situations.

It was in pursuance of this policy that a small left wing was left to detain Buller in Natal, and a small right wing to meet any advance towards Mafeking, while the bulk of the forces were kept to oppose Lord Roberts. Strong positions were occupied at Brandford and Kroonstad, while a general advance, already mentioned, was made, *via* Thabanchu, into the eastern portion of the Orange State, to threaten the British communications south of Bloemfontein. Botha, now Commandant General, no doubt expected that the English would keep up their reputation for lack of originality in warfare, and felt certain that they would make no move while any armed Burghers were south of them; he also reckoned that they would be certain to advance systematically, first securing the district between the Modder and the Zand, then that between the Zand and the Vaal. In these suppositions Botha would have been perfectly right, had he been opposed to ninety-nine out of a hundred English Generals. In that case we might have reached the Vaal at the earliest by Christmas, and perhaps have got to Pretoria by April, 1901, by which time it would have been fully garrisoned and provisioned for a two year's siege. As it was, the Commandant General had not taken his enemy's true measure, and so it happened that

while Botha was guessing incorrectly what the Field-Marshal would presently do, the Field-Marshall correctly divined the incorrect guess that Botha was making. Therefore, when the Boers demonstrated along the Basuto border, the British merely closed up the gaps in their protective lines, and Wepener was left to take care of itself for a short time, until Brabant made shift to relieve it. To borrow a simile from the game of chess—Botha gave check, thinking to draw the Queen, but Roberts advanced a pawn, and stood to win as before.

It is characteristic of commanders of the highest order that they leave nothing whatever to be done in the field which can possibly be done in camp or quarters, and that they never give any sign of what their intentions are till the moment comes for carrying them out. Never did an army seem more inactive than the British, at or about Bloemfontein, towards the end of April, and the Boer commandants might well imagine that Lord Roberts was waiting upon affairs to the east of him. Yet that was the very moment he was about to strike. Very quietly were Waterworks reoccupied, and the bridge at Krautz Kraal secured; then suddenly the British advanced. Delaney was surprised at Brandfort, May 3rd, and with Divisions east, west, and south of him, he retreated rapidly to the north, as might have been expected. On the 6th the passage of the Vet was forced, and on the 10th that of the Zand, then on the 12th the Boers evacuated the great central position at Kroonstad. Still the ball was kept rolling: on the 24th the Vaal was passed, on the 31st Johannesburg was occupied, and on 5th June Pretoria capitulated.

Meanwhile, Mafeking had been relieved, after a sharp struggle, by Plumer's Rhodesians, strengthened by a flying column from the south under Colonel Mahon, and by the Canadian Artillery of Sir Frederick Carrington's expedition. Mahon crossed the Harts on the 8th of May, and, evading the Boers, pressed forward by forced marches, which enabled the combined force, of which he took command as senior officer, to enter Mafeking on the 17th May, just one day sooner than Lord Roberts had named for the relief.

The *rationale* of all these operations was this:—Lord Roberts

had at his disposal a force greatly superior in numbers and equipment to any that could be opposed to him, but a large portion of it was, for various reasons, ill fitted to cope with the Boers in the minor tactics for which they were so justly renowned. He therefore made up his mind to use the army boldly in strategy of the first magnitude, disregarding the counter attacks of the enemy.

To carry the war into the heart of the Transvaal, to get immediate possession of Johannesburg and Pretoria, liberate several thousand prisoners of war, and while so engaged to relieve Mafeking; to seize the railway junctions, and paralyse the enemy's interior communications; to render their position in Natal useless, and their presence in the Orange State most precarious—these were the ends which Lord Roberts set before him, and which, when accomplished, may be fairly said to have overturned the military power, and terminated the political existence, of the federated Republics, by the same means, and at the same time.

With such a programme in hand, of what consequence was the loss of a battalion or two captured by the enemy, or a few miles of railway destroyed, or of telegraphs cut? Lord Roberts accepted the worst that the Boers could do in minor enterprises, and the result amply justified the principles upon which he acted.

As distinct from the strategy by which so much was accomplished, the tactics of the great march from Bloemfontein to Pretoria were only commonplace. All the same they were sufficiently effective, and most economical of life. The army marched on a very broad front, the cavalry and mounted infantry leading. The Boer positions were not assaulted, but invariably *turned*. This manœuvre, which is one only possible when the advancing army greatly outnumbers its opponent, is executed by putting a force in front of the position, equal at least to that of the defenders, and at the same time sending other troops round each end of it, so as to give the enemy no choice but to remain and be surrounded, or to retreat without delay. The Boers, who dreaded a similar fate to that of Cronje and his army, invariably retreated, though not without a certain amount of fighting on each occasion. Over and over again, they endeavoured

without success to reproduce the conditions which had been so favourable to them in Natal and in Methuen's Kimberley Campaign. Nothing, however, could have brought this about for them unless it had been a pass to hold between two inaccessible mountain ranges, and that, unluckily for them, was not available ; consequently they were compelled continually to fall back, meditating no doubt upon the wisdom of the recommendation of the council of war not to rely any more upon fortified positions.

How it came about that Pretoria was abandoned we do not yet know for certain. Enormous sums of money had been lavished on its fortifications and its armaments, both of which were of the newest type, and it was understood, at the beginning of the war, that stores had been accumulated there for a siege of at least twelve months. The only reasonable explanation appears to be this—that guns and stores of every kind had been diverted to the requirements of the armies in the field, and that the final advance of the British was so rapid, that there was not time to get the guns back and mount them in the works, or to replace the stores expended.

As to operations elsewhere in the theatre of war, the key to them must be sought for in the strategy of the main army. In Natal no movement was permitted till the advance from Bloemfontein had developed. Then Sir Redvers Buller began to push the enemy, and finally as we know cleverly drove them out of the British Colony. Had he stirred at an earlier date, the possibility of his forcing the passes might have increased the concentration of Boers at Kroonstad, which would have been exactly what it was desirable to avoid. The Boers imagined they were keeping Buller south of the Biggarsbergen ; actually, it was he who was detaining the Boers in Natal.

Similar considerations explain the activities of Sir Archibald Hunter. These served to attract a large force of the enemy to where it could do no one any harm, and dexterously drew off attention from the flying column, which was secretly proceeding by forced marches to the relief of Mafeking. The same may be said of the despatch of Sir Frederick Carrington to Rhodesia, though that may have had more immediate connection with schemes not yet disclosed.

What is remarkable in all this, as in everything else that Lord Roberts has done, is the unmistakable evidence of design, extending even to minute details. It was no mere accident, we may be sure, that Kimberley and Mafeking were relieved at the exact dates promised, and it speaks volumes for the prevision exercised, that it was possible to fix a time limit for operations, in which the enemy's doings, as well as our own, had to be thought out. Seldom in warfare has anything been done as perfect, in neatness and economy, as the relief of Mafeking, by movements auxiliary to the Pretoria campaign, and it will remain a standard example of how to obtain secondary objects by the machinery devised for primary ends.

The following table, showing some of the distances over which the military operations extend in the Orange State and Transvaal, may be useful for reference :—

Bloemfontein to Boshof,	70 miles, approximately.
, " Wepener,	60 , , , , ,
, " Thabanchu,	40 , , , , ,
, " Brandfort,	35 , , , , ,
, " Kroonstad,	125 , , , , ,
, " Johannesburg,	265 , , , , ,
, " Pretoria,	290 , , , , ,
Kimberley , Mafeking,	220 , , , , ,
Pretoria , Mafeking,	160 , , , , ,
Laing's Nek , Pretoria,	211 , , , , ,
Ladysmith , Laing's Nek,	110 , , , , ,
Pretoria , Lydenburg	180 , , , , ,

The statistics of the period continue to shew a marked decrease in killed and wounded on the British side, thus :—

Total British casualties from the taking of Bloemfontein
to the fall of Pretoria.

Killed,.....	400	Of these 235 were officers.
Wounded,	1650	
	2050	

But it is deeply to be regretted that while such economy has been effected in respect to losses in battle, there has been a constantly increasing loss of life by sickness, chiefly owing to the ravages of

enteric fever and dysentery. The total number of officers and men who died of disease from the beginning of the war to the 9th June, was over three thousand seven hundred, and of late the mortality from this cause has been proceeding at the rate of a thousand a month, so that the deaths by disease are already greatly in excess of those by battle. How far defective medical and sanitary arrangements are to blame for this, is as yet an open question, and as it is to be the subject of a Parliamentary enquiry, it would be out of place to discuss the subject at present.

With respect to the casualties in battle, it is to be noticed that the proportion of officers to men has gone up again, and is at the rate of one officer for every eight men. Since the ratio is no longer affected by any difference of dress or appearance in the two classes, these figures represent a very serious condition of affairs, which ought to be carefully looked into at an early date; for it is plain, either that the officers expose themselves to unnecessary risks, or that the fighting discipline of the rank and file is not what it should be.

Summarising the military situation, as it stands now, at the beginning of July, we see that—

1. We have entirely freed the original British territory of rebels and invaders.
2. We have undisputed possession of all the Orange State, except a small portion at the North-East corner, in which there are still several roving Commandoes capable of harassing our troops, but incapable of directly opposing them.
3. We have conquered the entire Transvaal, except the Eastern section, bordering upon Swaziland and the Portuguese territory.

On the other hand, we see that the Boers, though they have lost the means of carrying on a regular warfare much longer, have still large forces in the field, probably 30,000 well armed and well mounted men, and have not suffered any defeat sufficiently crushing to utterly demoralise them. They are still buoyed up, it would seem, by the hope that the foreign policy of England

may lead it into war with one or more of the great Powers, and they are said to be preparing to defend themselves *à l'outrance* in the mountains round about Lydenburg, their temporary Capital.

How long hostilities may continue, it is impossible to say. Much will depend upon the attitude which the English assume towards the defeated Burghers. In dealing with Colonial rebels, we appear to have adopted a wise mixture of severity and conciliation—American fashion—in opposition to the sanguinary precedents of our own civil wars, the rebellion of 1745, for example. There seems, however, some danger of our running off the track of sound policy with respect to the belligerent republicans. The device of a paper annexation, followed by treating the enemy still in arms as rebels and traitors, is loudly recommended by thoughtless persons in England, and still more by many in South Africa. It is an expedient old as the hills, but ever ineffective, for it merely brings it about that, while the superior army holds the cities, the inferior one maintains itself in the rural districts, and, breaking up into bands of desperate men who have nothing further to lose, throws back indefinitely the peaceful development of the country. Let us trust that our military administration in South Africa may see its way to measures worthy of statesmen, and take care that England, which, for a whole century, has hectored, lectured, scolded, and preached at every nation under the sun, shall not be made ridiculous in the eyes of the world, by slipping unawares into the very methods it denounced in days gone by, when, in company with Thomas Campbell and *Freedom*, we shrieked over Kosciusko, or in later times, when we fought for Greece, fêted Kossuth, canonised Garibaldi, and loudly bewailed the sorrows of Bulgarian patriots, Circassian warriors, Armenian Christians, and Russian Jews.

And now that the British public has so confidently discounted the issue of the war, and can find but little that is interesting, and still less that is understandable, in the marches and counter-marches reported day by day; attention is being more and more concentrated upon two questions, which will have to be dealt with in the near future, namely:—the reorganisation of the army, and the final settlement of South Africa. Neither of

these subjects are suitable for discussion, *inter alia*, in an article devoted to military operations, yet a word or two concerning them may perhaps be admissible in advance of fuller consideration.

As to the first question, I would say to those—and they are many—who feel perfectly confident to deal with it off hand; would it not be convenient to define the essential desiderata before elaborating the details? What, for instance, are we to understand by the expression, 'reorganisation of the army'? Do we aim at the improvement of what now is, or do we propose the creation of military forces of a new kind, expressly designed to meet Imperial requirements and obligations hitherto unrecognised? If the latter; what are these requirements and obligations?—because we only beat the air if we try to satisfy conditions not yet determined. If, on the other hand, it is merely *improvement* that is wanted—what are the defects to be remedied? Are they organic or administrative? In other words, have we a bad system strictly enforced, or a good one badly carried out? Again, have these defects, whether organic or administrative, been notorious for years past, or are they known as defects now, for the first time, in consequence of what has occurred in South Africa?—because if the lessons of the Boer war are to be made use of, it would be advisable to begin by ascertaining exactly what those lessons really are? At present we know actually nothing beyond the bare outline of all that has been done, and until we have established our data, we cannot proceed to draw our conclusions. Tons of literature have, we know, been reeled off on the subject since October last, but how many ounces of truth there may be in the entire series, is more than any one at present in this country is in a position to say. When the army has come home, the information wanted will come with it; but it is very doubtful, even then, how much of it will be allowed to reach the light of day.

With regard to the final settlement of South Africa, that too is a matter upon which much data is required before a correct judgment can be delivered, still it is not difficult to state broadly the principles to be kept in view by the nation:—

First. We must do our duty by the British Colonials, bearing in mind, however, that the loudest speakers are not the most worthy of attention.

Second. We must do our duty by the Anglo-Dutch, not forgetting how many were loyal when it was hard to be so.

Third. We must do our duty by the natives, and by the coolies, remembering that the helpless deserve the most consideration.

Fourth. We must do our duty by the conquered Boers, acknowledging that *might* is not of necessity *right*.

Fifth. We must do our duty by ourselves, recollecting the price we have paid for South Africa.

Of these points, curious to say, the last seems most in danger of neglect, so the sooner the British people speak out in their own interests, the better for everyone. We have given our heart's blood for the South Africans of *to-day*, let us make sure that the South Africans of *to-morrow* shall not forget the debt they owe us. Let no such scandal be possible as cent. per cent. dividends from Johannesburg mines, while British labourers in their poverty are still paying taxes for the war, and let it be put for ever beyond the powers of local legislation to discourage British trade by prohibitive tariffs, or put restrictions upon British emigration.

Above all, let it be clearly understood that South Africa shall not be made the prey of any group of monopolists—home born or Colonial—who would fain make private property of a land which belongs, not to the first comers, but to all generations of Britons and which should be held in perpetual trust for the surplus population of the Empire.

U. U.

SUMMARIES OF FOREIGN REVIEWS.

GERMANY.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN (No. 3, 1900).—This number opens with an article by Dr. Julius Ley, of Kreuznach, 'Charakteristik der drei Freunde Hiobs und Wandlungen in Hiobs religiösen Anschauungen.' In the first section of his essay he deals with the first of these two points. Though these friends of Job occupy very much the same standpoint, and assume that Job's sufferings were the result and proof of some previous sin or sins which he had committed, each of the friends has his own peculiarity of diction, his own way of making good his assertion, and of tendering to Job his counsel. Dr. Ley brings out here these distinguishing characteristics, beginning with those of Eliphaz, the oldest and most prominent of them, then of Bildad, then of Zophar. The speeches of each are analysed in order to exhibit how their idiosyncracies are illustrated in them. In the second section Dr. Ley traces the changes which the poem reveals in the ideas and convictions of the sufferer himself, under the influence of the arguments of these three friends, and of his own experiences. The essential facts are given in chapter i. 3-10, and xlii. 10-17. The development of the drama lies between these two points, and the struggle in Job's mind in which the old ideas as to suffering pass into those entertained by the author of the drama is artistically detailed. The stages in the transition are set forth by Dr. Ley in nine sections.—Professor Victor Ryssel, of Zurich, discusses in an elaborate article what might now perhaps be described as the question of the hour in the field of Biblical lore, viz., the Hebrew fragments of Ben Sirach, and their claim to be the original form of the text, 'Die neuen hebräischen Fragmente des Buches Jesus Sirach und ihre Herkunft.' Dr. Ryssel is the translator and editor of the Book *Ecclesiasticus* in the recently published version of the Jewish Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, issued under the direction of Professor Kautsch, of Halle. *Ecclesiasticus* appears in that edition as *Die Sprüche Jesus, des Sohnes Sirachs*. When Dr. Ryssel prepared that translation, and discussed its literary and theological value and its authorship, etc., only the first of the fragments had been discovered and made public property. Since then many new fragments have been brought to light, and

much controversy has arisen regarding them. It is not with that controversy itself that our author here concerns himself, but with the text of the fragments. He translates them each by itself, and compares them with the Greek text which he had before him when preparing his work for Dr. Kautsch's edition. The discussion of the question as to whether these fragments represent or not the original text, is reserved to a future paper.—Herr Pfarrer Rietschel, of Leipzig, presents and discusses at considerable length Martin Luther's views regarding the visible and invisible church.—Herr Pfarrer G. Traub furnishes a paper dealing with the history of the doctrine of Justification by Faith.—The first volume of Dr. G. Rietschel's, *Lehrbuch der Liturgik* is reviewed by Dr. R. Drews.

DEUTSCHE RUNDSCHAU (May, June, July).—‘Neid’ is the title of the story which runs through two of these numbers. It is by Ernst von Wildenbruch, and is a powerfully drawn and written narrative of the efforts of an old man to inculcate the dire effects of envy on character and conduct.—Erasmus as a satirist and his satirical writings are the subject of a descriptive and critical essay by Ivo Bruns.—Dr. Vambery takes occasion from the proposed visit of the Shah of Persia to Europe to descant on his favourite theme—the rivalries of the Powers in Politics and Commerce in the East, and of course here in the Empire of the Shah. He describes the effect on these of the Bagdad Railway projected and financed by German engineers and capitalists. The title of his article is ‘Die Europäische Rivalität in Persien und die Deutsche Bagdadbahn.’—Emil Munsterberg, whose official position gives the weight of experience and authority to all he says on the subject on which he here writes, deals with the ubiquitous problem of Beggary. ‘Das Bettelwesen in Gross-städten.’ It is not with the poverty that abounds everywhere that he specially deals, but the forms which greed as well as need, or greed, idleness, and vice, rather than need, resort to to provide for bodily wants. Begging flourishes most in large cities because in them the individual beggars are unknown to the citizens, whereas in small villages or sparsely populated districts, everybody is well known and their circumstances are common property. Herr Munsterberg distinguishes between ‘Bitten’ and ‘Betteln,’ using the latter term to denote fraudulent asking. He describes the begging fraternities in various countries, in Russia, China, and elsewhere, and the rules by which they are governed, and the methods they adopt in the carrying out of their ‘profession.’ Examples of their resourcefulness are also given, but volumes could not exhaust that

subject. The lessons to be learned from what he here brings before us are reserved for a future article.—Carl Krebs furnishes a biographical and memorial notice of Carl Ditters, of Dittersdorf, a musician of note in last century (1739-1799), whose memory has somewhat faded in this, and needs, and, Herr Krebs thinks, deserves, to be revived.—Major Otto Wachs has an article on 'Die strategische Bedeutung von maritimen Stationen und unterseeischen Kabeln.'—Lady Blennerhasset writes on 'Shakespeare in Frankreich,' reviewing two recent books—viz., M. J. J. Jusserand's *Shakespeare en France sous l'ancien régime*, and M. Joseph Texte's *Jean Jacques Rousseau et les origines du Cosmopolitisme littéraire*.—'Die Berliner Theater,' 'Die Berufs und Gewerbezahlung von 1895,' with the Political and Literary *Rundschauen* complete this number.—(June)—Theobald Fischer opens this number with a series of 'Reiseeindrücke aus Marocco.' This distressful country has been the object of his attention for the last twenty years. The impressions given here are chiefly those during a journey made in Morocco for about four months in 1899.—'Die sieben Infanten von Lara' gives us a sketch of the poem, or rather epic, of Count Angel de Saavedra on the tragedy that befell the House of Lara in Spain in the tenth century. That tragedy has been the subject of several poets before, but Angel de Saavedra took considerable liberties with the story. Herr Heinrich Morf, the author of this article, gives the facts of the story so far as it is possible now to recover them, and extracts from Saavedra's version of them. Dr. Bernhard Dessau gives a brief sketch of the history of electric telegraphy, and describes its later developments in wireless transmission of messages. 'Die elektrischen Schwingungen.' He discusses the question, too, of the limits of electric currents upwards as well as the distances within which they can be controlled.—In connection with the recent Jubilee of the Berlin Academy of Sciences, Herr Wilhelm Dilthey, Professor of Philosophy in the University of Berlin, furnishes the first of two articles on 'Die Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften, ihre Vergangenheit und ihre gegenwärtigen Aufgaben.' The rest of this number is devoted to book reviews and notices.—(July)—This number opens with a novelette, 'Die Verfluchte Stelle,' by Ilse Frapan. The scene is laid in the naphtha district of the Caucasus, Balachani. At least it is there that the disillusionment of Tigran, lured there by the lust of gold, takes place, and the tragedy ends.—It is followed by a series of letters from General Blücher to his oldest son, Major Franz von Blücher, found by Herr Alfred Stern in the Record Office in London, who publishes them here and edits them.

They were written in 1809, and throw valuable light on General von Blücher's hopes as to co-operation with England in connection with the troubles arising from Napoleon's ambitions, as also on the personality of Blücher himself.—J. T. Von Eckhardt describes the efforts that have been made within the century now closing to effect reforms in Islamic policy so as to realise the better the aim its leaders have had always in view—viz., to make it the religion of the world.—‘Bibelkenntniss in vorreformatorischer Zeit,’ by Herr E. von Dobschütz, discusses the condition of things as to the knowledge of Scripture in scholarly circles, as well as with the German people as a whole, prior to the time of Martin Luther and the issue of his translation of the Bible. That condition was not quite so bad as might be inferred from Luther's sweeping assertion as to it. That is here demonstrated.—Herr Wilhelm Dilthey continues his article on the ‘Berlin Academy of Sciences.’ In this section he details, or describes, its fortunes during the reign of Frederick the Great.—Herr Heinrich Schneegans contributes an interesting study on ‘Das Wesen der romantischen Dichtung in Frankreich.’ The roots of the movement are traced back into the eighteenth century, and its threefold characteristics, democratic, sentimental, and individualistic, are well illustrated. There follow a ‘Phantasie,’ by Marie von Bunsen, ‘Noli me tangere;’ a notice of the *Mainzer Festschrift*, written in celebration of the 500th anniversary of the birth of Johann Gutenberg, by Professor O. Hartwig; an article by M. von Brandt on ‘Colonial Politische Fragen;’ and the political and literary *Rundschauen*.

R U S S I A.

THE RUSSIAN PHILOSOPHICAL REVIEW (Voprosi, Philosophii i Psychologii, No. 50) opens with a paper on M. B. N. Tchichérin's *Philosophy of Right*, Book Fourth, on Human Covenants or Agreements; of which the first chapter deals with the essential elements.—This article is followed by a continuation on ‘Turgenev as a Psychopathologue,’ in which the author, B. Th. Schish, takes occasion to speak of *Clara Militch* as one of the best productions of this well-known writer. Above all, he notices its poetical character, from which he thinks that it is hard to believe that it was written in Turgenev's seventy-fourth year. The critic next proceeds to compare the plot and denouement with the conclusions which circulate in society about the origin of the work and its constitution, and then to compare the characters with others. Two compared in this way are Militch and Aratoff. As Psychopaths we learn that there are some things not quite in order about them,

and the author or critic goes into the question of their preliminary history. Then the falling in love of these psychopathical characters is discussed, and we have Hamlet and Ophelia brought from Shakespeare for purposes of comparison! The relations of the two psychopaths are spun out into two lengthy sections, and the responsibility of Turgenev for them is discussed. In the second part, a fresh psychopath is discussed, a youth of ten years, whose fortunes are considered to be hardly germane to the occasion, and we are accordingly, in a new section, treated to a narrative about the father of Aleck-sea, also a psychopath, as we are given to understand; but presently we go back to Jacob! In the fifth part we have a serious love-poem, written in 1881, while *Clara Militch* was written in 1882. Both pieces have much in common. Two other chapters follow, whose only attraction to the reader can be the fame of the writer.—The paper succeeding this is the concluding one on 'Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam, and his Historical Significance.' The paper is by M. Nicolai Ivantzoff, who comes forward to exalt and demonstrate the excellence of the new Philosophy as leading, in a very true and unmistakable way, to new discoveries, to new methods, and a more perfect Science.—The Editor follows with an article on 'The Real Unity of Consciousness,' which is continued from a former number, in which M. Lopatine takes a former paper by M. Vl. C. Solovieff, written in 1897, as the basis of his observations.—The last paper in the number is from the pen of M. Vl. Solovieff, on the question of the Form of Reason, or, as he otherwise puts it, 'The Reason of Truth.'—(No. 51)—is practically a Memorial number in honour of the late much lamented Editor and leading contributor, Professor Grot, of the Moscow University. As we have already in a previous number referred to the esteem in which Professor Grot was held, there is the less need of making abstracts of these papers. The first is an outline of his life and professorial activity. The writer speaks of the sorrow and pain which naturally arise when we remember the great service Grot has rendered, and think of the loss and regret which will long continue to be felt. Ivanoffsky takes the lead in the tributes in his honour. He is followed by M. D. V. Victoroff, who speaks of his Life and Times and his services as Professor. M. I. I. Aichenbald then discourses on Professor Grot's Ethical views. Besides these, we have in this Memorial number, To his Memory as Professor: while M. Sokoloff writes on his powers as a Thinker.—This is followed by a new Section of M. B. N. Tchichérin's articles on the 'Philosophy of Right,' containing Chapter V. and Chapter VI. The first

treats of the Church ; the second of the State ; the third of International Relations.—This is followed by a paper by M. P. J. Zhitetskie on William von Humboldt and the History of the various attempts towards forming a Philosophic Language. We have references to Plato, Leibnitz, Harris' Hermes, Suse-mihl, Herder, Tilemann, Hamann, and Kant.—Miss Vera Johnstone, who dates from New York, writes a paper on Dr. Paul Deussen and his translation of sixty of the Upanishads of the Veda.—This is followed by the usual Reviews of Books and Bibliography.—Finally we have the reports of the Moscow Psychological Society and the Protocols of the St. Petersburg Philosophical Society.

ITALY.

NUOVA ANTOLOGIA.—(May 1st.)—G. Carducci commences with a sufficiently dry and abstruse article on the 'Rerum Italicarum Scriptores' of L. A. Muratori, being an extract of an important work to be shortly published.—'The Public Hygiene in Italy,' as is fitting in these days of Congresses and Exhibitions all tending to that end, is further discussed by G. Bizzozero and E. Zabban ; the latter writer treating the same subject more in detail in his paper on 'Naples and the Exhibition of Hygiene.—A. Graf continues the tale, *Resuscitated*.—Professor Rava, of Bologno, writes at length on workmen's pensions in other countries ; and A. Frauchetti gives a careful and critical review of a new translation of Goethe's *Faust*, by G. B. White, not on the whole highly eulogistic.—C. P. Beri writes on Santa Caterina da Siena, and his times, anticipating by her article a contribution by herself on the same subject in the *Pantheon of Illustrious Italians and Foreigners*, shortly to be published.—The concluding papers are dedicated to the 350th anniversary of the University of Messina, and the War in the Orange River State.—(May 16).—In 'Recollections of Infancy' Professor De Amicis gives many interesting reminiscences of his early years.—Follows the conclusion of the first part of the article on 'Public Hygiene in Italy,' by G. Bizzozero.—'Petrarch and the Jubilee of 1350,' is an interesting historical article by C. Segré.—The deputy, Signor Luzzati, narrates the effect of thirty-seven years of co-operative propaganda, in a long statistical paper. He says the result of the movement revives hope for the well-being of the country.—Follows the first of a series of letters by A. Pratesi, written from Hankow at the end of last year ; they are interesting at the present crisis, for the writer, who explored the river Han in Captain MacSwiney's house-boat,

though he thought the Chinese 'good' people, says that they loved to cheat and squeeze the Europeans, and at Sha-si he found the population ready to begin a tumult on the slightest pretence, and that Sha-si has the name of 'The terror of the Yang-tze.' The letters contain many particulars about the works carried on to repair the banks of the Han, and the wages paid to the labourers, etc.—A. Fazzari writes on the parliamentary parties.—(June 1st)—R. Capelli recounts the career of General Count di Robilant.—De Amisis continues his 'recollections'—D. Melegari contributes the first two chapters of the first volume of a trilogy, *The Three Capitals*, now issuing from the press. This first portion is 'The Fort City' (Turin). It is written in the form of a romance, and the epoch is April, 1861. The idea of this cycle of modern Italian cities seems to have been inspired by Zola.—Follows a monograph on the late president of the Italian Press Association, by L. Luzzatti.—The excursions in China are continued, describing the province of Houan.—Follows a pretty sketch by O. Grande, the title being the name of a woodland bird, the *Re di Macchia*, or King of the Grove.—The deputy, M. Ferrasis, here publishes one of his original and practical articles, his subject being tourist in Italy (*Il movimento dei forestieri in Italia*). He opines that the concourse of foreigners in Italy occupies so large a place in the economy of the country that it is advisable to imitate Switzerland and organise a professional society of hotel-keepers, and a national association of all who are directly or indirectly interested in the question. Besides the hotels there is a great category of institutions and citizens who derive advantage from the concourse of foreigners—railway and steamship companies, banks, theatres, artists, cafés, restaurants, hackney-coachmen, tramways, boatmen, shop-keepers, etc., etc. And there are other bodies which derive notable benefit from foreigners, though this is little noticed, that is specially the State itself and the municipalities, and after them the chambers of commerce and the provinces. About 20 per cent. of the money spent by foreigners in Italy goes into the public purse, and the State and the municipalities receive annually about seventy million francs from this source alone.

LA RASSEGNA NAZIONALE (May 1st).—P. Molmenti writes with his customary erudition on the 'Ancient Venetian Industries,' with special reference to what will be shown at the Paris Exhibition. The history of these various branches of industrial art is specially interesting to us, who can find in it much useful inspiration for our own Schools of Art and crafts now-a-days.

The cloth of gold and silver, the richly gilded leather, the iron and bronze castings, and goldsmiths' work, with the inlaid work in wood and marble, the porcelain manufacture, and, above all, the renowned glass and lace industries, are all touched upon in succinct but vivid style by the renowned historian.—*Savonarola* and *Alexander VI.* are contrasted in their political opposition by an anonymous writer.—I. Bouzi writes on the new duties of the Liberal Conservative party; and E. Mozzoni treats of the cultivation of tobacco in Italy.—A. Rossi commemorates the anniversary of the Duke of Abruzzi's departure for the Polar Seas in an article expressing surprise that such an undertaking was allowed by King Humbert, after the rash project of Andrée seems already to have met the fate it courted. The article really treats more of Nansen, whose work lies before us to read and comment upon, while the success or failure of the young Italian prince had yet to be recorded. But the latter's previous feats in ascending the Himalayas are related, and give some idea of the ardour which inspires the latest Polar navigator.—An article on the 'Parliamentary Tumults and the Conservative Party' is warmly recommended to the readers of the *Review* by a footnote by the Editor.—There is a translation of Bishop Spalding's speech at the inauguration of the New University of the Order of the Holy Cross at Washington.—(May 16).—G. Prato has an article on the 'Italian Workmen's Aid Societies in foreign countries,' advocating a greater extension and more complete organisation of those already existing, and noting the especial aims and objects they have kept in view.—A. Norsa writes on the new way of access to Italy *via* the Simplon Railway and Tunnel, in which the author shows the comparative importance for North Italy of new communication which would open up the line to Geneva, and render that place a centre of railway traffic, whereas at present it is rather off the main line.—E. Cini has a novelette, 'The Unknown One,' placed in the time of mediæval Rome; and G. Scerbo a dissertation on the spirituality of language, as a mental result of the memory, rather than a physiological effort of the vocal organs.—N. Guarise reviews Professor L. Pastor's third volume of the *History of the Popes*; and R. Mazzei has a short article on 'The Catholic Idea of Liberty'; 'One Should Not Play with Fire' is concluded.—I. del Lungo contributes a short notice of the Dante centenary.—E. Sigismondi, reviewing *Quo Vadis*, seeks to show the reason of its immense popularity in its appearance just when a redoubled fervour for Christianity has been kindled by the Holy Year and the great concourse of pilgrims from all

countries at Rome.—Several smaller articles close the *Review*.—(June 1).—A. Fogazzaro contributes an article on 'Sorrow in Art.'—The present instalment of the story of Bianca Capelli and Francesco I. of Medici is entitled 'An Unforeseen Catastrophe.'—D. Conti discourses on the 'Good and Evil of Art.'—'Iolande' commences a novel entitled 'Under the Rose-coloured Lamp-shade.'—C. Scérétant has something interesting to say about 'The Perruque in Venice.'—Signora E. Bertolini compares the religious sentiment in Manzoni and in Chateaubriand.—The usual letters from Paris and reviews of politics and literature close the number.—(June 16).—C. Manfroni describes the aims of the Italian Naval League as proposing to encourage the development of the military and the mercantile marines; to instruct the inhabitants of Italy, both inland and on the coasts, in the enormous value to Italy of the sea and all that belongs to it, and in the necessity of having a strong fleet to protect the extended coasts, and to spread the influence of Italy in foreign countries.—F. F. Airoli describes the last voyages and death of Christopher Columbus.—P. E. Pavolini contributes a lecture on the love-poets of India.—I. Stanza discourses on agricultural affairs; and P. Procacci gives many useful statistics of the post and telegraph services in Italy.—'Milan,' by A. M. Cornello; and 'Two Mysteries,' by F. Rubini, are political papers of the moment.—A. M. Ferretti reviews the book, *The Siege of Rome in 1900* by P. Moderni.—The number closes with articles on the behaviour of the Intransigents during the last elections; and a paper on 'The Eve of the Twenty-first Legislation.'

GIORNALE STORICO DELLA LITTERATURA ITALIANA (Vol. XXXV., fasc. 1)—Contains learned articles by F. Fabrini on 'Polifilo'; by D. Ferrero, on 'Two Philippics by A. Tassoni'; and by V. Cran on an hitherto unknown rhymed codex in the Vulgate belonging to B. Castiglione.—Dr. R. Garnett's *History of Italian Literature* is discussed at length by A. Galletta in the bibliographic review at the close of the number, and there are, besides, many notes and communications of various kinds.—In fasc. 2 and 3 are continued L. Renier's interesting votes on the culture and literary friends of Isabella d'Este, comprising a vast assembly of famous Italian authors.—A. della Torre describes the first embassy of B. Bembo to Florence.—In the 'Varieties' we have 'Moral Science,' by Paget Toynbee; 'The First Knowledge of the Divine Comedy in Sicily,' by V. Labate; and an ancient politico-humanistic review of one of Petrarch's sonnets.

FLEGREA—(April 20th)—M. Pantaleoni gives an individual opinion as to the probable prevailing altruism of the twentieth century.—The Duke of Carafa discusses politics outside parties.—L. Capuana commences a romance, entitled 'Resignation.'—(May 5th)—Here is a commemoration of the battle of Adua, by C. Fortunato.—D. Angeli contributes five poems on Heliogabalus.—C. Giorgiere-Coutri sends a pathetic little tale, called 'The Small Deceiver.'—P. Molmenti contributes an interesting essay on the origins of Venetian art.—R. Ortez sends the first part of an essay on the poetry numbered cclxi. to cclxviii. in the Vatican Codex 3793, attributed to Ciacco dell' Anguillara.—(May 20th)—C. de Lollis, under the rubric of 'Foreign Poets,' reviews the work of G. A. Becquer.—E. Corradini has a short story, 'The Mother.' It is strange that almost all Italian short stories are tragic.—E. Maddalena, under the title of 'A devilry of titles and numbers,' discusses the number and names of Goldoni's comedies.—G. de Lorenzo describes the magic practised in the Buddhist religion.—(June 5th)—G. Fortunati explains the parliamentary regime of the 20th Italian legislation.—S. Fraschetti gives an account of the frescoes of the sacraments in the church of the *Incoronata*.

RIVISTA D'ITALIA (June).—C. Chiarini edits the letters of Ugo Foscolo to the beautiful and learned Isabella Teotochi-Abrizzi, remarkable for her genius, eccentricity, and poverty. The letters were written between 1802 and 1824. Though the two correspondents were lovers, the letters are of more interest as relating many facts of Foscolo's life, with criticisms on books and art. They rank among the best-written letters of the 19th century.—F. Flamini writes on Dante and the 'new style.'—A. della Seta sends the first part of a review of Count von Platen's Diaries.—P. Mascagni contributes a monograph on Nicola Picciuni.—C. Bertacchi has a short memoir of the Italian scientist, Giovanni Marinelli.—A. Valeri writes in an interesting manner on the origin of jubilees and pilgrimages, with illustrations from old engravings.—Geographical, dramatic, and political reviews close the number.

ARCHIVIO STORICO PER LE PROVINCE NAPOLETANE (Year 25, fascicle 1)—Here are concluded the unedited Vatican documents relating to Pope Gregory and Queen Johanna of Naples. E. Bertaux discusses the triumphal arch of the Aragons in Castel Nuova, Naples.—G. Ceci contributes some facts connected with the deaths of Ascanid and Clement Filorino, from the memoirs of the Duke della Torre.—The number contains, besides, copious reviews and notes.

EMPORIUM (May).—Stephano Ussi is the 'Contemporary Artist' of this number; of a visit to whose villa in Florence, R. Pantini gives a lively account, with much criticism and praise of the work of the many-sided artist.—A. Luzio, under the title of 'The Portrait of Isabella of Este,' contributes many valuable notes and criticisms regarding the paintings of the sixteenth century.—Dr. Ortensi has an appreciative article on Alfred Tennyson, which contains nothing new for English readers.—E. Scheibler follows with 'Hunting Adventures in Equatorial Africa,' with several interesting illustrations from instantaneous photographs.—In 'Geographical Curiosities,' the Cascades of the Krka (Dalmatia) and their neighbourhood and its inhabitants, are described by Viator.—Dr. C. Bonelli writes on the Sanatoria for Consumptives at Clair-mont-sur-Sierre, Davosplatz, and other localities.—The whole of the papers are excellently and copiously illustrated.

F R A N C E .

REVUE DE L'HISTOIRE DES RELIGIONS (No. 1, 1900).—M. Maurice Courant deals here with the somewhat vexed question as to the monotheistic character of the earliest form of the religion of China known to us. The title of the article betrays at once the author's opinion on the subject, and the view which he is to try and substantiate. 'Sur le prétexte monotheisme des anciens Chinois.' Several Sinologists have contended that the earliest form of Chinese Faith known to us from the most ancient literature was of a strictly monotheistic character. M. Courant takes Dr. C. de Harlez as representing this school, and quotes a passage from his *Les Religions de la Chine, aperçu historique critique*, as voicing that conviction. As representing the opponents of that view he takes Dr. A. Reville and quotes a passage from his *La Religion Chinoise*, as expressing the very opposite view. He then proceeds to show what is the testimony of the literature on which both schools base their contention. All parties are agreed, he says, that historic China presents little to support the existence of a monotheistic faith among the Celestials. The country swarms with temples, and in these and in the homes of the Chinese, worship is paid to gods many and lords many. But the appeal is made to antiquity, and the witnesses adduced are the oldest books preserved to us. The mistake which Maurice Courant charges the upholders of the monotheism of the early Chinese with is that of reading modern ideas into ancient Chinese words, instead of taking them in the sense in which the ancient Chinese used them. Maurice Courant lets the early literature shed its light on the terms employed for

God, Heaven, etc., and in this way shows that there is really little or nothing to support the contention of the upholders of a primitive monotheism with the ancient Chinese.—M. E. Doutté continues his 'Notes sur l'Islam Maghrbin, Les Marabouts.' The fact of Saint Worship among the followers of Mohammed in Algeria and Morocco having been demonstrated by our author in his last article, and the forms that worship takes there having been described, he sets himself here to discuss the precise meaning to be attached to the names applied to those saints who are so honoured—viz., *marabout*, *sidi*, *cherif*. He takes these terms in that order. The etymology commonly accepted of the first of these he declares to be erroneous. He traces its derivation to *ribat*, an Arabic name given to fortresses built on the frontiers of Musselman kingdoms and garrisoned by devoted volunteers. He gives here the history of the word through all its stages of transition, so as to show how it came to be applied to the saintly ones of the Islamic faith. *Sidi*, again, or *seyyid*, is a title very generally given to these same, and to all who command reverence. It is given to those who bear the revered name of Mohammed. The title *cherif* or *sherif* is the most coveted of them all. It is given to those who can trace their lineage to Mohammed through his daughter Fatima-et-Zohra, or whose pretensions to have her blood in their veins are admitted.—(No. 2, 1900)—M. L. Leger continues in this number his 'Etudes de Mythologie Slave.' His previous articles were devoted to the deities of the Slav pantheon, and this one is on the same lines. The deities dealt with here, and whose characters, or characteristics, are described, are—Zeernoboch, Rinvit, Turupid, Puruvit, Pisamas, and Tiernoglav. Goddesses and some inferior deities are also reported of here. M. Leger then describes the cult practised.—M. C. Fossey has a short paper on Professor Jastrow's identification—in his recent work, *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*—of the goddess Aruru with Ishtar of Ereck. M. Fossey regards that identification as erroneous, and states the grounds on which he does so very clearly.—M. A. Barth continues his 'Bulletin des Religions de l'Inde,' giving summaries of all important works recently issued on Buddhism, and appreciations of their several merits. M. A. Reville continues too here his summary and criticism of Professor Tiele's second series of Gifford Lectures in the University of Edinburgh. Both these numbers are rich in notices of books bearing on the province of religion and folk-lore; and the 'Chronique' in both numbers is as usual very full and comprehensive.

REVUE PHILOSOPHIQUE—(May, June, July).—M. F. le Dantec has the first place in the May number with a long dissertation on 'Homologie et Analogie.' He reviews in it the methods of classification of animal and vegetable species which were followed by the older generation of naturalists, and contrasts them with the methods followed by the present generation, and the careful and minute observations and experiments instituted by the latter with a view of tracing the modifying effects of climatic influences, cross breeding, etc., etc., on animals and plants alike. The trust placed in former times on analogy has given way before the claims of morphological study of the homologous parts and functions of similar species. This study is now carried forward by elaborate experiments conducted under the strictest scientific principles and by the most carefully trained observers.—M. G. Varet furnishes a paper on 'La Psychologie objective,' on, that is, the study of other men's minds rather than of our own, as exhibited by the actions which we see them do, or the facial and other forms of expression by which they manifest themselves. The value of such a study depends on the observer's ability to interpret aright the external signs of psychological phenomena, and that ability comes only from what we see and feel in ourselves.—M. Ed. Claparède furnishes a brief criticism of an article which appeared in last number, by M. Daubresse, on 'L'Audition coloree.' M. G. Richard writes on 'Les Devoirs de la critique en matière sociologique.' His article has reference to a little bit of controversy between him and Professor Vaccaro as to the former's work, *Les Bases sociologiques du droit de l'Etat*.—A considerable part of this number is given over to the review of recently issued works on philosophy, criminology, sociology, and esthetics.—(June)—M. F. Paulin follows up his recent article in this *Revue* on 'Analysis et les Analystes,' by another complementary to it on 'Les Esprits Synthétiques.' As in the former paper he showed how, when the analytic element predominated in men, there are necessarily defects in their judgments of things, so here he shows that the same or similar errors follow from the undue predominance of the synthetic element. The way in which he illustrates and exemplifies the evil effects of the undue exaltation of either, makes his papers extremely informing and interesting. His illustrations are drawn from all branches of art, as well as letters.—M. L. Dugas deals with the subject of 'Fanatisme et Charlatanisme.' Human action in its normal state is a mean between two extremes—the pure idea and the pure action. Neither exists in reality. The ideas of men and the means by which they seek to realise them are influenced by such a variety of mental and

other conditions that practical life is at best a compromise between possibilities. M. Dugas enters at length into the distinguishing characteristics of the visionary, the fanatic, and the charlatan. None of them is necessarily insincere, not even the latter. Illustrative instances are given in abundance.—M. A. Calinon writes on 'Geometrie numerique.'—M. E. Blum reviews several works bearing on the science of teaching, under the title, 'Le mouvement pédagogique and pédagogique.'—The general reviews include Professor Tiele's Edinburgh *Gifford Lectures*, by M. Marcel Mauss; Mr. G. S. Fullarton's *Spinozistic Immortality*; and Dr. John Watson's *Outline of Philosophy*.—(July.)—M. B. Bourdon, under the title, 'La perception des mouvements par le moyen des sensations tactiles des yeux,' gives some interesting experiments made by Herr H. Aubert, Herr E. von Fleischl, and others, to determine the velocity of the movements of objects on the retina of the eye, and his own testing of these, with the results of that personal observation of their value. He gives also experiments of his own, intended to determine the relative sensitiveness of the outer and inner circles of the retina.—M. L. Dauriac furnishes an article, 'Criticisme et monadisme.' It is suggested by the appearance of a work from the pen of M. Ch. Renouvier, *La Nouvelle Monadologie*, and discusses that writer's present position with respect to Kantian doctrines in comparison with his earlier attitude towards them as seen in his *Essais critique générale*.—M. C. Bois writes on 'Les croyances implicites,' showing that no act of the intellectual life lacks the element of faith, that 'la croyance est coextensive de notre vie psychique et quo croyances explicites sont peu de chose auprès de nos croyances explicites.'—M. Blum continues and completes his article on 'Le mouvement pédagogique et pédagogique.'

LE MUSÉON, ÉTUDES PHILOLOGIQUES, HISTORIQUES ET RELIGIEUSES (No. 1, 1900).—With this number begins a new series, and the title, added some four years ago, when the *Revue des Religions* was incorporated with it, has been dropped out. It is, of course, under new editorship, as M^{gr}. Charles de Harlez, its first founder, died last year. The names of the *Comité de Redaction* are given here, and we may assume that the first on that list is the editor-in-chief. He is M. J. B. Abbeloos, the Rector of the University of Louvain.—The articles in this number do not lend themselves to brief summaries, for they are for the most part very technical, and enter into minute details, grammatical and other, whose value can be appreciated only by those who

give these details minute attention. The first article is by M. A. Hebbelynck, 'Les Mysteres des Lettres Grecques-d' apres un MS. Copte-Arabe.'—This MS. is in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. The Coptic text is here given, and a translation of it, with critical notes. The Arabic text in the MS. appears in the margin, but is acknowledged by all competent scholars to be very faulty. M. Hebbelynck does not complete his article in this number.—M. R. de la Grasserie begins a series of papers on the Prepositional Verb. 'Du Verb Prepositionnel.'—M. Aristide Marre continues his rendering of the 'Sadjarah Melayou.'—The usual 'Chronique' is omitted in this number, but is promised for the next, and the book *reviews* are less numerous than usual.—The new series is excellently got up, and is beautifully printed.

REVUE DES ÉTUDES JUIVES—(No. 1, 1900).—Still more fragments of Hebrew versions of the Book of Ecclesiasticus are coming to the light. In a recent purchase of MSS. from the Genizah and cemeteries of Cairo, made by Baron Edmond de Rothschild, in Paris, and placed by him in the Library of the Consistoire Israelite there, M. Israel Levi has discovered two more fragments of the Hebrew text of Ben Sirach. They seemingly form no part of the texts already discovered, but are part of an entirely different edition, or version. As the editors of the MSS. already given to the world have named the texts respectively A and B, so M. Levi distinguishes his as C and D. C consists of a part of Ecclesiasticus found in the fragments acquired in 1898 by the British Museum, and published by the Rev. G. Margoliouth in the *Jewish Quarterly Review* for October last. This new discovery affords, therefore, an opportunity for comparing two copies of the same passage, and M. Levi institutes that comparison here. The fragment C contains the text of xxxvi. 24,—xxxviii. 1. The comparison sheds welcome light on some of the difficulties raised by the earlier find. That light is duly set forth here. The fragment B contains the following legible passages:—VI. 20-27; 29-34; 37d; VII. 3, 5, 6c-16; 17-19, 21. M. Levi prints here the text as found in C, translates it, and adds some notes and comments. It seems to him to be an abridgement of the original text, but is very valuable to a better understanding of the work itself, and of the problems which these discoveries have raised, and are raising.—Dr. H. P. Chajes furnishes a series of critical notes on some of the already published fragments of the Hebrew texts of Ben Sirach, to which we can only here direct the attention of those interested in them.—

Dr. Shapiro writes on 'Les attitudes obstétricales chez les Hébreux d'après la Bible et le Talmud.'—M. Theodore Reinach has a short paper on 'Un Prefet Juif il y a deux mille ans.' It calls attention to the inscription found in Cairo, and published by Herr Willrich in the *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*. The inscription refers to one Helkias. This name belonged, so far as history reveals to us, to one person only, to the son of Onias, founder of the temple at Leontopolis. On the very probable supposition that this inscription has reference to that Helkias, it furnishes, even in its mutilated condition, some interesting data regarding him which were not formerly known.—M. M. Schwab, under the title, 'Inscriptions Hébraïques d'Arles,' invites attention to some of the inscriptions gathered up by, and found among the papers of, the late M. Isidore Loeb.—M. M. Lambert contributes a few exegetical remarks on Genesis ii. 3; xxiv. 53, 55; Exodus xxxiv. 13, 15; Leviticus iii. 14; Deuteronomy xi. 2.—M. W. Bacher, under the heading, 'Les Athénians à Jérusalem,' refers to a recent article of M. T. Reinach in this *Revue* on the Athenian decree in favour of Hyrcanus, and shows how that decree sheds light on the stories in the Midrash as to the visits of Jews to Athens, and of the visit of an Athenian to Jerusalem.—The other articles, brief for the most part, are; 'Un fragment polemique de Saadia,' by M. M. Lambert; 'Quelques remarques sur une vieille liste de livres'; and 'Sur un fragment d'une collection de consultations rabbiniques du XIV. siècle,' both from the pen of M. S. Poznanski; and 'Trois Lettres de David Cohen de Lara,' by M. Schwab.—This number is more than usually rich in reviews, and has a supplement under the rubric, 'Actes et Conférences,' containing the report of the annual meeting of the Société, which was held in Paris on March 1; the financial statement, a summary and critical appreciation of the various publications of the Société, and two papers read at that annual meeting, the first by M. le Baron Cara de Vaux, on 'Joseph Salvador and James Darmesteter'; the second by M. Salomon Reinach, on 'The Inquisition and the Jews.'

REVUE SÉMITIQUE D'ÉPIGRAPHIE ET D'HISTOIRE ANCIENNE (No. 2, 1900).—M. J. Halévy continues here his examination of the Book of Deuteronomy in the light of the other component documents of the Pentateuch. His contention, it will be remembered, is that the order in which the critics of what is known as the Modern School arrange the constituent elements of the Pentateuch, so far as P and D are concerned, should be reversed, that is, that P was written prior to D. His former articles have carried the discussion as far as chap. xvi.

He examines that chapter, and compares the data given in it with Leviticus xxiii. Both chapters deal with the celebration of the Jewish festivals. The point which M. Halévy here directs attention to is the point of view these two writers had before them as to the celebration of the festivals. M. Halévy gives an analysis first of Lev. xxiii. as furnishing the most complete regulations for these festivals. In this chapter the writer lays great emphasis on the kind and number of the sacrifices to be offered at each feast, the Sabbaths excepted, and gives very specific details as to those to be offered at the Feast of Weeks, and the Pentecost. Its sacerdotal character is abundantly evident. The writer does not, however, say a single word about the three annual pilgrimages already prescribed in the Book of the Covenant, Ex. xxiii. 14-17. This defect is supplied by D, and this demonstrates in the eyes of M. Halévy the priority of P. According, again, to Deut. xviii. 3, the priests receive as their part of the sacrifice the shoulder, both cheeks, and the stomach of the animals sacrificed. According to P (Ex. xxix. 26, 27; Levit. vii. 30-34; Num. xviii. 18) their portions were the leg (*shok*) and the shoulder. Which of these prescriptions is the most modern? Evidently that which does not know the 'heaving and waving' of the sacrificial parts of the sacrifice. Now Deuteronomy does not mention these ceremonies at all. In this minute manner M. Halévy proceeds to examine and compare passage with passage of D and P, carrying his analysis here up to Deut. xxvi. 7.—His second article in this number is devoted to the Gospel according to St. Mark. He titles his article 'Notes pour l'Evangile de Marc.' It is a purely linguistic study. He has long, he says, sought to form an accurate idea of the language that lay behind the Greek Synoptic Gospels, and especially of that of St. Mark, which, according to the opinion of the majority of critics of to-day, is the earliest of the three, and the principal source of the other two. Dr. H. P. Chajes' recent work, *Markus Studien*, has determined M. Halévy to undertake this task now. He examines Dr. Chajes' conclusions as to the original language of the second Gospel. M. Halévy thinks these conclusions, viz., that the original language in which it was written was Hebrew, are not substantiated by the proofs adduced by Dr. Chajes, and gives a strong series of reasons for regarding the original as having been Aramaic.—M. A. Boissier contributes a few 'Notes d'Assyriologie.'—M. F. Nau continues his Syriac version of the 'Life of Schenoudi.'—M. Mondon Vidailhet furnishes a series of grammatical 'Notes on the Ethiopian Dialects of the Province of Gouraghe.'

This province lies between the districts occupied by the Gallas and Sedama tribes. The notes are not concluded in this number.—M. J. Perruchon furnishes also some 'Notes pour l'histoire d'Ethiopie contemporaine.'—M. Halévy adds to the articles from his pen above mentioned, 'Un Mot sur l'origine du commerce de l'etain,' and also the 'Bibliographie.'

REVUE CELTIQUE (April, 1900).—This number has reached us while these sheets are passing through the press, and all we can do is to enumerate its contents, which are: 'Étymologies Vannetaises,' by M. E. Ernault; 'Da Choca's Hostel,' by Dr. Whitley Stokes; 'Les Croissants d'or Irlandais,' by M. S. Reinach; 'Old Irish *tellaim, tallaim*,' by Mr. J. Strachan; 'Études de Phonétique Irlandaise,' by M. G. Dottin; 'Tracce Celtiche nell' Asturia,' by Francesco P. Garofalo; 'La Métrique du moyen-breton,' by M. J. Loth.—The 'Chronique and Périodiques' are very full, covering thirty pages.

HOLLAND.

THEOLOGISCH TIJDSCHRIFT.—In the May Number Dr. J. C. Matthes goes on with his discussion of the evidence that the Israelites carried on a worship of the dead. In the present paper he examines the mourning customs in the Old Testament. Fasting he finds to be not an act, as has generally been supposed, of self-affliction; when engaged in after a death it does not express self-humiliation, which is not called for by the circumstances. Fasting is a preparation for prayer. Robertson Smith declares that the fasting of early races is a preparation for the eating of sacrificial food, which is intelligible enough. If, then, fasting points forward to a sacred act to be undertaken, fasting after death might be the preparation for the worship of the dead, which began immediately the death took place. Traces of funeral meals are found in the Old Testament, at which, according to analogy elsewhere, the dead must have been expected to assist. There was also a musical service for them, begun whenever death took place, and conducted by professional musicians. It was believed that the dead were able to help the living in various ways, especially by informing them about coming events. To carry on the worship of the dead the family or clan formed an association, which could not be added to from without. Hence the anxiety of the Hebrews, as with heathen nations of antiquity, for male issue, since without it the family worship might die out. That the High Priest was forbidden to mourn for his dead wife was due, according to Dr. Matthes, to the fact

that his wife was not of his stock, and he was not to take part in the ancestor worship of any clan but his own. For his male relatives he was expected to mourn like any other Israelite. Dr. Matthes is next to take up the connection supposed by the Hebrews to exist between the soul and the body of the dead, and between the grave and Sheol.—Dr. van Manen reports on the new English *Encyclopedie Biblica*, on the whole with approval, though much that in this country seems advanced is not so in the eyes of a Dutchman. He thinks the Apocrypha of the New Testament ought to have been treated as well as those of the Old, not perhaps a very logical view, since the Old Testament Apocrypha influenced the thought of the New Testament, but those of the New had little of such influence to boast.

DE GIDS.—A large space in the May number and the two following ones is filled by a romance of Louis Couperus—‘Along regular lines.’ The scene is laid chiefly in Rome, and many brilliant sketches are given of life there—especially of a boarding-house and its inmates. The chief figure in the story is a young Dutch girl, who, after divorcing her husband, sets out for Rome determined to see a wider life and enjoy her freedom. She drifts into strange situations, as she lives with a young artist whom she persistently refuses to marry, and simultaneously carries on a flirtation with an Italian Prince. In the end her wildly eccentric line of life is brought back to its starting-point when she meets her former husband at a ball, and she is forced to acknowledge that he has not lost his power over her, that she has always at heart been true to a well-ordered life, and so she returns to the regular lines. In spite of its cleverness, the story is rather odious, and the chief female character particularly so.—(May)—‘On the Steamer for Batavia,’ by B. Veth, is a chapter out of a book which is just coming out called *Life in Dutch India*, and is written in a very poetical strain.—Professor G. Kalff (May, June, July) gives a careful study of their classic poet, Constantyn Huygens, who though not a poet of the first rank, is invaluable to all students of the life of the seventeenth century, and does not deserve to be ignored by patriotic Dutchmen.—(June)—‘The Siboga Expedition; its aim and some of its results,’ by Professor Max Weber. This expedition was undertaken for the investigation of the fauna and flora of the East Indian Archipelago, and lasted from March 1899 for nearly a year. Besides the object mentioned, much important information was obtained of the extremely varying depth of the ocean bed in these regions.—‘Derkinderen’s Frescoes.’ These are to be found decorating the staircase of an insurance office in

Amsterdam, fine allegorical figures of Time, Death, and Life, and so on, a credit to modern art.—‘Heredity and Pessimism’ (July) by Professor C. H. Kuhn, who desires to show that however terrible the results of crime, vice, and insanity are, they are by no means always passed on to the third and fourth generation; there is a counter tendency of regression to type and other ascertained phenomena which tend to check wholly pessimistic views of heredity, and leave some hope to the coming race.—A set of new poems by Albert Verwey, entitled ‘The Burning Bush,’ is reviewed. They appear to have more of promise than fulfilment.

S W I T Z E R L A N D.

BIBLIOTHÈQUE UNIVERSELLE (May, June, July).—The first article in the May number is from the pen of M. Auguste Glardon, and contains the first of two papers in which the exploits and adventures of the famous guide Zurbriggen are described. The papers are founded on Zurbriggen’s autobiography recently published, and contain an account of many daring adventures amongst the mountains in different parts of the world.—M. A. Bonnard contributes the third article, in which he concludes his remarks on Journals and Journalists. The intellectual gift on which he here dwells as requisite in a journalist, is that of being able to discern and tell the truth. Other characteristics are touched upon, and many interesting incidents are described as illustrating the points maintained by the author.—Under ‘L’Opinion publique et la guerre Africaine,’ the Editor, M. Tallichet, discusses the popular attitude of the Continent and of the United States towards Great Britain in respect to the war in South Africa.—Continuations are ‘En plein air,’ ‘Un roman historique aux Etats-Unis,’ and ‘La princesse Désirée.’—There is an article also on the Paris Exhibition, by M. H. de Varigny.—The June number opens with an article with the title ‘Un Surhomme muscovite.’ It is the first of two written by M. Reader, in which an attractive account is given of the life and philanthropic, as well as scientific, labours of Friedrich-Joseph Haas or Février Petrovitch, as he was called in Russia. Haas was born near Cologne in 1870, studied philosophy and mathematics at Jena and medicine at Vienna. He subsequently accompanied Count Repnine to Russia, settled there, and soon won for himself a great reputation for his work in the hospitals and prisons of the country.—‘Les exploits du guide Zurbriggen’ is continued, as is M. de Varigny’s ‘A travers l’exposition universelle.’—M. Tallichet has an article entitled ‘Vers la paix,’ and ‘La princesse Désirée’ reaches its

fifth part.—The number for July opens with 'Les Boers de l'Afrique Australe.' The author is M. J. Villaraïs, who, taking Theal's five volumes as his guide, sketches in this instalment the history of the Boers from 1652 to 1795.—M. Paul Stapfir contributes 'Les idées littéraires de Victor Hugo, et sa satire des pédants,' an interesting article and useful to students of the author criticised.—'En plein air' is brought to a conclusion, and the rest of the articles are continuations.—There are the usual 'Chroniques,' which form, as need hardly be said, one of the features of this Review.

AMERICA.

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW (April, 1900).—This number opens with an account of the Boston meeting of the American Historical Association, which opened on the 27th December last, and of which Association this *Review* is practically the organ. The most valuable and interesting papers in the number are Mr. G. T. Lapsley's 'Problems of the North,' and Mr. F. W. Williams' 'The Chinese Immigrant in Further Asia.' The first deals with an obscure problem, and Mr. Lapsley in his treatment of it brings much information to light.—The other articles are by Mr. A. C. M'Laughlin and Mr. E. G. Bourne; the first taking for his subject the 'Social Compact and Constitutional Construction,' and the second writing on the United States and Mexico during the years 1847-48.—'Document' contains a memorandum of Moses Austin's Journey, 1796-97, the journey being from the lead mines of Wythe, in Virginia, to the lead mines of Louisiana West.—The 'Notices of Books' are, as usual, numerous and carefully written.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

The Welsh People: Chapters on their Origin, History, Laws, Language, Literature, and Characteristics. Maps. By JOHN RHYS, M.A., and DAVID BRYNMOR-JONES, LL.B., M.P. London : T. Fisher Unwin. 1900.

Of the thirteen chapters which this volume contains, six are new, and the remaining seven appeared, in their original form, in the Report of the Royal Commission on Land in Wales and Monmouthshire. It travels over an immense space of time, and is altogether of a very mixed character—historical in some parts, etymological in others, and political in others. The topics it treats of all belong to the Welsh people, and are very varied. One chapter deals with the origin of the Welsh people, and another with the origin of Dissent among them. There is a chapter on the Ancient Laws and Customs of Wales, another on the History of Land Tenure in Wales, one on The Religious Movement, another on Roman Britain, and another on Rural Wales in the Present Day. Much of the information is culled from very distant sources, but the evidence taken before the Welsh Commission is never far off, and many statements in the volume, where it is frequently quoted, are based upon it. For our own part we must frankly confess our preference for the more learned part of the volume. This is of great value, though much of it has appeared elsewhere. The chapter on the Ethnology of Ancient Wales is specially valuable. It touches upon many thorny questions, but contains the best discussion on the subject we have seen, and is evidently from the pen of Professor Rhys. The conclusions at which he arrives are, briefly put, as follows :—The country, as far back as archaeological research has gone, was inhabited by more races than one, and the earliest inhabitants were of a non-Aryan race, who are probably represented by the Picts of history. The first Celtic immigration occurred in the fifth or sixth centuries, before our era, or perhaps earlier, when the southern half of Britain was overrun by the Aryan ancestors of the Goidels, whose language is now represented by the Gaelic dialects of Ireland, Man, and Scotland. A second Celtic immigration occurred in the second or third century B.C. The immigrants were the Brythrons, who conquered from the Goidels most of the country which the latter had previously conquered from the aborigines, or about the whole of Mid-Wales as far as Cardigan Bay. The Goidels living to the north and south of this were never systematically displaced, and their Goidelic may have remained a living tongue down to the seventh century. Soon after the departure of the Romans, Mid-Wales received an accession of Brythonic blood in the troops led by Cunedda and his sons, to whom may be traced the political frame-work of Wales under the aspect it presents to the historian of the Norman Conquest. The Brythrons mixed with the Goidels, who were themselves an amalgam of the first Celtic settlers with the Aborigines, and before the eleventh century all conscious distinction of race was probably obliterated. Subsequent admixtures of Scandinavians, Normans, Flemings, and English took place, but the predominant element has always probably been the substratum contributed

by the earliest lords of the soil of these islands. To those who have been in the habit of regarding the Welsh people as unquestionably Celts, this last conclusion will be somewhat surprising. But here we must let Professor Rhys speak for himself: 'Should it, then, be asked,' he says, 'what the Welsh of the present day are, Aryan or not Aryan, the answer must be, we think, that, on the whole, they are not Aryan; that, in fact, the Aryan element forms, as it were, a mere sprinkling among them.' 'This,' he continues, 'is by no means surprising, as will be seen on comparing the case of France. . . . For the French of the present day, with the exception of the Teutonic element in the north-east of France, are, in the main, neither Gauls nor Aryans of any description so much as the lineal representatives of the inhabitants whom the Aryans found there. In fact, the Gauls were not very numerous, even when they ruled the whole country. It has been estimated, on the basis of the particulars given by Caesar as to the numbers of the cavalry which the different Gaulish tribes were able to place in the field to meet the Roman legions, that the Gaulish aristocracy formed a surprisingly small proportion of a population whose numbers ranged somewhere between three and six millions. There seems to be no reason to suppose that the dominant Celts in this country were relatively more numerous than in Gaul. They formed a ruling class, and led their dependents in war. . . . If a competent ethnologist were to be sent round Wales to identify the individual men and women who seemed to him to approach what he should consider the Aryan type, his report would probably go to show that he found comparatively few such families, and that these few belonged chiefly to the old families of the land-owning class: the vast majority he could only label as probably not Celtic, not Aryan.' The case for France was argued some time ago by M. d'Arbois de Jubainville in his *Premiers Habitants de l'Europe*, where he estimates the entire aggregate of Gauls, inclusive of women and children, at 60,000, a somewhat too low figure, we should say. Recently, however, his theory has been challenged by Mr. W. H. Hall in his *Romans on the Riviera*. In the chapter on the 'Pictish Question,' our authors, or probably Professor Rhys, returns to a number of questions passed over in the first chapter, and discusses at considerable length the laws of Pictish descent and metronymic designation. The chapter on Roman Britain is admittedly taken for the most part from Professor Rhys' well-known and valuable little book on Celtic Britain. The history of Wales from the earliest times down to 1282 is succinctly traced, and a chapter is intercalated on the Ancient Laws and Customs, based for the most part, as need hardly be said, on Aneurin Owen's edition of the Laws of Howell, and is in every way a valuable exposition. The chapter on the history of land tenure is from the pen of Mr. Seeböhm, and is transferred here from the Commissioners' Report. The chapter entitled 'The Religious Movement' has more to say of the past than of the present, and is in some respects a brief summary of the evidence taken before the Commission. The language of the Welsh is treated of at great length, but the treatment of their literature is decidedly disappointing. In the chapter headed 'Language and Literature,' the old literature is disposed of in four pages; we might almost say in a single paragraph. Space is devoted to the translation of the Bible and Sunday School literature; a strong plea is made for the Eistedfods, both national and local; and the remark is made that no English dialect seems any longer to possess the secret of spreading itself in Wales, a state of matters exactly the reverse of what is happening in the Highlands, where Gaelic is apparently dying out as the railway and steamers advance. Of the four appendices in the volume, the most important is the second, in which Mr. Morris Jones discusses the question of

Pre-Aryan syntax in insular Celtic. Notwithstanding its short-comings and mixed character, the volume is unquestionably of great value, and will not fail to be regarded as the standard work on the ethnology and history of the Welsh people.

The Presbytrie Booke of Kirkcaldie: being the Record of the Proceedings of that Presbytery from the 15th day of April, 1630, to the 14th day of September, 1653. Edited, with Introduction, Notes and Index, by WILLIAM STEVENSON, M.A., F.S.A., Scot., Minister of Auchtertool. Kirkcaldy: James Burt, 1900.

This is one of those works which may be taken as indicating a revival of interest in the history of the social condition of the people of Scotland. Presbytery Records are numerous, but Presbytery Records in print are few, and though one is now and again disposed to complain of their terrible sameness, there is in them, after all, a certain diversity and a fulness of information which brings the reader into close relations not only with the social and religious life of the people, but often with their political. Taken along with the Kirk Session Records and the Records of the Town Council they furnish abundant material for the history of the country in almost all its relations. Unfortunately, they do not go far back. The instances in which those of the years preceding 1600 have been preserved are few, and the instances in which the Records are continuous are probably as rare. The Records of the Presbytery of Kirkcaldy do not reach further back than 1630. Reference is made to earlier records, but, as in the case of many other Presbyteries, they are now lost. And, late as they are in beginning, they are not continuous, the Records for a period of forty years, from 1653 to 1693, having gone the way of those which the Parson of Dysart and Mr. James Symson were directed to go and get from Mr. Tullus, who resigned the office of Presbytery Clerk in 1630. This is to be regretted, as is the loss of all documents and records relating to the life of the people. The volume Mr. Stevenson has here edited is the earliest extant volume of the Records and is wholly in the handwriting of Mr. James Millar, 'scrib to the Presbytrie,' a graduate and licentiate of the Church, but apparently without a benefice. How he made his living or whether he had private means we are not told; but all he got for his labours as 'scrib to the Presbytrie,' which were not particularly light, but often involved much trouble and exposure to all kinds of weather and temper was what Mr. Stevenson calls 'the frugal sum' of twenty-eight shillings sterling, afterwards increased to £3 4s. sterling, per annum. The volume seems to have been kept with the utmost care, and the painstaking character of the 'scrib' is shown by the fact that in the whole of its six hundred and twenty-two closely written pages there is hardly a single correction. The period covered by the volume is, as need hardly be said, one of the most pregnant in the history of the country, and the Records bear witness to the fact. As might be expected, too, indications continually occur in the Record of the secular as well as of the ecclesiastical politics of the time as they do in other similar records of the period. The things which seem to have troubled the Presbytery most—certainly those which came most constantly before it—were quarrels about seats in the churches within its bounds, the planting of schools, buildings and manse, repairs of churches, and there being several seaports within the bounds of the Presbytery, the raising of funds to ransom seafaring men who had fallen into the hands of the Moors or were slaves in the Spanish galleys.—There

are the usual cases of lapse and trilapse, and even quadrilapse, and the number of them is something extraordinary, and reveals a dreadful state of immorality in the district within the Presbytery. Mr. Stevenson tries to excuse it by saying first, among other things, that 'the people were only two generations removed from the Reformation, and customs linger long among a rude people. But the enemy might say, if the people were so eager and earnest two generations before for the reformation of religion, how came their descendants to fall within so short a period into a condition so depraved? Where was the blessedness of the Protestant faith and its superiority over the Roman? Mr. Stevenson comes nearer to the mark when he speaks of the extreme ignorance of the common people. The fact is, the prevalent ideas respecting the reformation, and of the condition and temper of the people at the time, are in need of revision. Some of them are fictitious. Records such as Mr. Stevenson has edited throw a very lurid light upon the times and help to correct or dissipate ideas long entertained. Notices of witchcraft abound in the volume, and a Mr. Smith, minister of Burntisland, flourishes as a famous hand at dealing with witches. To those not given to this kind of reading the volume will be something like a revelation. At anyrate Mr. Stevenson has done a good work and earned the thanks of those who can appreciate his labour by publishing this ancient 'Presbytrie Booke.' The volume, we should add, is of lordly dimensions, printed in good type, and with ample margin. There is an excellent introduction to it by the Editor, numerous footnotes have been added, and at the end we have two elaborate indices.

England in the Age of Wycliffe. By GEORGE MACAULAY TREVELYAN. London, etc.: Longmans, Green & Co. 1899.

Like Mr. Bryce's *Holy Roman Empire*, this volume originated in a College Prize Essay. Whether it will obtain the same success as that famous volume remains to be seen, but whether it does or not, no one who reads it with attention will hesitate to say that it is a substantial addition to historical literature, admirably written, and, though dealing with a somewhat remote period in English history, deserving the closest study because of the numerous points in which it touches the national life of to-day, and the lessons it conveys. The period covered in the political history of the country is nine years—1376 to 1385—but the history of the Lollards is continued down to the year 1520. The principal figures in the volume are John of Gaunt and Wycliffe, with Edward III. and the Black Prince, and behind them, but at last breaking into the foreground, the whole peasant population of England. Mr. Trevelyan's object, as he tells us, is to give a general picture of the society, politics, and religion of this period—a period which, so far as England is concerned, represents the meeting point of the mediæval and modern, and is, consequently, of peculiar interest and importance. For England it was a period of decay. The French possessions were lost, Edward was in his dotage, the Black Prince was sick of an incurable disease. The most powerful man in the country was John of Gaunt, who was 'at the head of a small, but well-organised hierarchy of knaves, who made a science of extorting money from the public by a variety of ingenious methods.' The Duke's most active colleagues were the Lords Latimer and Neville and Richard Lyons, one of the wealthiest of London merchants, and 'the financier of the unscrupulous gang.' By these the country was governed, or rather, misgoverned. When the Good Parliament met in 1376 the members of the Lower House at once took sides against them. In one im-

portant point the House of Commons of those days differed from that of the present, the chief political power being almost exclusively in the hands of the members for the counties. This is well brought out by Mr. Trevelyan in the following sentences: 'The towns of England, though important and respected, were not the armed and aggressive communes of France, or the free cities of the Empire. Few would have been willing to fight for any political object except their own privileges and commerce, as they showed in the Wars of the Roses. The towns were not only less military, but less rich in men and resources than the country. The population of rural England was still several times as great as that of all the towns put together. It is not, therefore, surprising to find that for all purely political purposes the seventy-four Knights of the Shire were the real House of Commons. The borough members sent up petitions which influenced the economic policy of the Government in questions of finance, commerce, and taxation, and in all matters which directly concerned the towns; but they considered State affairs as outside their province. The overturning and setting up of ministers, the battles with the Court or Lords, were almost entirely the work of the county representatives. The chroniclers of the time, when describing any political move of the Lower House, spoke only of the "Knights," and when ministers wish to pack a parliament, their only care was to manage the returns from the counties.' The only exception to the political insignificance of the towns was London, whose rich merchants were of the utmost importance to the parties to which they respectively adhered, both on account of their wealth and on account of the formidable forces they could command, the presence of which was sufficient for the protection of the Good Parliament, and formidable enough to cause the Court on more than one occasion to modify its policy. The power of Parliament lasted only while it sat. No sooner had the Good Parliament risen than the reforms it had demanded and insisted upon John of Gaunt set himself to undo. Earl Percy, the leader of the Opposition, was won over to his side, and apparently the Earls of Arundel and Stafford, while Peter de la Mare, the Speaker of the House of Commons, was seized and flung into prison, without trial, at Nottingham. When Parliament met in January, 1377, John of Gaunt and his allies had so thoroughly tampered with the returns that its political complexion was very different. A few veterans challenged the illegal imprisonment of Peter de la Mare, but their voices were overborne by the majority who did the bidding of the Duke. Convocation, on the other hand, took the unusual step of refusing supplies till grievances were redressed. Their special grievance was the persecution of William of Wykeham, who, besides being stripped of his offices, had been prohibited by the King from coming to London. Hitherto the Church had been thoroughly unpopular, but her opposition to the Duke of Lancaster suddenly brought the populace round to the side of the Bishops, who, led by Courtenay, took another step which, as Mr. Trevelyan points out, amounted in its political aspect to a defiance of John of Gaunt. This was the summoning of Wycliffe to appear before them in St. Paul's to answer the charge of heresy. At this point Mr. Trevelyan may be said to enter upon the main theme of his volume. Of Wycliffe he gives no detailed biographical account, contenting himself with a brief but sufficient sketch of his career. Of his teaching and its effect, however, he treats at great length, more particularly in its political and economic aspects. With his teaching in respect to the disendowment of the Church, Mr. Trevelyan is in evident sympathy, and is at considerable pains to trace the development of this and other aspects of the Oxford scholar's teaching. For the true account of the condition of society during the period his volume covers, Mr.

Trevelyan points to the gloomy and powerful description in Piers Plowman rather than to the works of Chaucer. His own picture of the times, though dark, is well corroborated by official documents and contemporary writers. He fully appreciates the significance of the decay of England's power at sea, and indicates the effect it had upon the commercial and social, as well as political, condition of the country. The course of the Peasant's Rising is traced with great minuteness, and in a supplementary volume, edited by Mr. Powell in conjunction with Mr. Trevelyan, a number of interesting and important documents, hitherto unpublished, is printed in connection with it. Altogether the work, as we have said, is a substantial addition to historical literature, and claims the attention both of the student of English history and of all who take an interest in the affairs of men.

The Campaign of 1815—Ligny, Quatre Bras, Waterloo. By WILLIAM O'CONNOR MORRIS, Sometime Scholar of Oriel College, Oxford. London: Grant Richards. New York: S. P. Dutton & Co. 1900.

In spite of all that has been written on the Campaign of 1815, there is still a number of points on which our information is imperfect. On some of them it is probable that it will remain so always. But so long as new facts continue to crop up and fresh side lights are thrown upon the conduct of the chief actors in that terrific drama, the military critic will always find something in the existing narratives upon which to exercise his ingenuity, and the final narrative will remain unwritten. In the handsome volume before us Mr. O'Connor Morris, who is well known by his volumes on Hannibal, Napoleon, and Moltke, as a writer of military biography, has set before him the task of combining a succinct but complete narrative of the Campaign with a careful running commentary on its military operations, in the hope of satisfying the requirements both of the general reader and of the real and scientific student of war. The hope is an ambitious one, but no unprejudiced reader will rise from the perusal of his volume without feeling that Mr. Morris has good and substantial reasons for believing that he has fulfilled it. The narrative is lucid to a degree, the different stages and turns in the campaign are brought out with distinctness, the points in dispute are fairly argued, the author's conclusions are sustained by a sufficient array of authorities; and by a happy avoidance of technical terms, the whole is as intelligible to the lay as to the military reader. As a necessary introduction to his narrative, Mr. Morris gives an account of the condition of France under the Bourbons and during the Hundred Days. Here of course he dwells upon Napoleon's escape from Elba, the attitude of the Powers towards him, his desire for peace, and the many and grave difficulties both political and military he had to cope with. The opinion of Jomini and others that if Napoleon had allowed the passion of the French multitude its way and revived the Reign of Terror, the nation would have rallied to his side and the coalition against him defeated, Mr. Morris disputes and points out that the attempt to revive the Reign of Terror would have provoked civil war, and been sufficient of itself to lead to his ruin. As to the army the Emperor managed to collect and place on the field, the remark is made that there were in it few signs of the exulting fervour of 1792-93 or of the prodigious effort made in 1813, but there was not the general despondency of 1814. Its chief weakness arose from a not ill-founded suspicion among the rank and file of the ability and fidelity of the subordinate commanders. In Napoleon himself

the confidence of the army was well nigh absolute. As to the number Mr. Morris agrees with Houssaye, whose figures are about the same as those of Thiers, rather than with Charras, whom he denounces as a partisan and declares his figures to be false. Some one has said that the campaign requires to be studied watch in hand. This is obviously the case, and Mr. Morris's pages are written throughout with the closest attention to the sequence of events and the hours at which the various movements were made or ought to have been made. Everywhere the reader is made to feel how much depended upon each leader being up to time, and how much was lost by some of them failing to be where they ought to have been and were intended to be by their chief at the right moment. As a critic, Mr. Morris's sympathies are evidently on the side of Napoleon, and the work is written much more from the point of view of the French, and much less from the point of view of the Allies, than one is accustomed to in an English book. All through from the beginning of the campaign it is held that victory ought to have been on the side of the Emperor, and great pains are taken to show the superiority of his strategy and skill in every branch of the art of war over either Blucher or Wellington. The cause of his failure is set down chiefly to his failing health and the disobedience of his subordinates. Ney is especially blamed for his conduct both at Quatre Bras and Waterloo. So also is Grouchy. The latter's conduct was inexcusable, and the same may be said of Ney. On behalf of the latter at Waterloo, however, Mr. Morris fairly urges that Napoleon gave him no definite orders, but admits on the other hand that Napoleon trusted him too implicitly, and ought to have been more definite in his instructions. While admiring the Emperor and claiming for him a mastery in the art of war which neither Blucher nor Wellington is said to have had, Mr. Morris is not unfair to the abilities of either of these commanders. Justice is done to the skill and tenacity of the Duke, who in the opinion of Mr. Morris ought to have lost, and but for the folly of Ney would have lost at Waterloo. Blucher's patriotism is praised, and much is said of the quality of his troops, and still more of the courage and endurance of the British. All through Mr. Morris writes with judicial calmness, and the student as well as the general reader will thank him for the admirable fairness with which he presents his case for and against each side, and for the singularly lucid way in which he narrates the campaign which ended in the ruin of his hero.

A History of Spain from the Earliest Times to the Death of Ferdinand the Catholic. By ULLICK RALPH BURKE, M.A. Second Edition. Edited, with additional Notes and an Introduction, by Martin A. S. Hume. Two Volumes. London : Longmans, Green, & Co. 1900.

For the period it covers, Mr. Burke's is admittedly the best history of Spain in the English language. Compared with some of the native histories of the country it is short ; but it is condensed, picturesque, and for all practical purposes sufficiently full. The first edition was unfortunately marked by a number of errors, which the accomplished author was not permitted the privilege of correcting, though fully aware of their existence. In the person, however, of Mr. Hume, who has already made a number of excellent contributions to Spanish history, the publishers of the work have been fortunate enough to find a thoroughly competent editor, and one who has discharged his duties with the requisite skill and scholarship. The duties of an editor are often difficult to determine, but

Mr. Hume has throughout gone upon safe lines. Except in a few cases where the expressions were obscure, he has made no attempt to alter the author's style, which he rightly considers 'a revelation of his personality.' Obvious errors of statement he has carefully corrected, and in a considerable number of instances where the information in the text or notes was in need of qualification, explanation, or support, he has appended additional footnotes, which, as a rule, are to the point, and add to the value of the volumes. Some of Mr. Burke's speculations as to the original inhabitants of the country and their language are of rather doubtful value but these Mr. Hume has for the most part left untouched. The most notable alteration Mr. Hume has made is in the arrangement of the chapters. Some of these—the chapters on the Bull Fight, Architecture, the Monetary System, and Music—he has shifted from the position they originally occupied to the end of the text. This has its advantage and its disadvantage. They were probably placed where they were by Mr. Burke in order to form breaks in the narrative; on the other hand, placed as they now are the narrative has become continuous. Which is the better the reader can decide for himself. Either way he has Mr. Burke's text and notes, to the latter of which the Editor has added a number of his own. Mr. Hume's main contribution to the volumes, however, is a preface which though covering only some ten pages is of great value to the student. In this he shows with singular clearness that the history of Spain, better than that of any other European country, enables the philosophical historian to trace the combination of causes and effects in the life of a nation, and thus not only to demonstrate the scientific basis of his own teaching, but also to draw the deductions and conclusions, failing which the study of history would be useless as an aid to wisdom. Altogether this new edition of a work which has many claims to be regarded as a classic, is a considerable improvement on the original and deserves to meet with a cordial welcome.

History of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages. By FERDINAND GREGOROVIUS. Translated from the Fourth German Edition by ANNIE HAMILTON. Vol. VII. 2 Parts. London: George Bell & Sons. 1900.

This volume of Miss Hamilton's excellent translation of Gregorovius opens with the accession of Martin V. to the pontificate, and comes down to the year 1503, when the papal chair became vacant by the death of Alexander VI. In some respects this portion of Gregorovius's work might almost be said to have been superseded by the much fuller and more vivid narrative of Dr. Pastor; still as a history of Rome, and not especially of the Popes, the work will undoubtedly continue to hold its own. The plan is much larger, and it is only when the first has reached its sixth volume in Miss Hamilton's translation that the two works come into touch with each other. When, however, they reach the same period the reader will do well to have beside him the more recent work. Gregorovius is not infallible, and though as a rule the two writers are singularly well agreed, the new materials which Dr. Pastor has had access to or consulted often enable him to furnish additional information which modify or throw fresh light upon the statements of Gregorovius. As in previous volumes, Miss Hamilton has confined herself merely to the work of translation, but the value of her translation would have been materially enhanced had she here and there taken the liberty of adding a note conveying more recent information or correcting an error. The note by Gregorovius on page 8,

referring to Martin's opinion of Bernadino of Siena, is partly misleading and partly wrong. While it may be true that Martin at first suspected the monk of being a fanatical reformer, in consequence of the charges brought against him by his enemies, there can be little doubt that if any such suspicions ever existed in the Pope's mind, they were entirely dissipated by the investigation he ordered to be made. This is proved by the fact that within three years of his appearance in Rome Martin wished to appoint Bernadino bishop of Siena, an honour which he steadfastly declined. As for forbidding him to wear the sign of Jesus, the opposite was the case. The Pope gave him permission to display his banner whenever he pleased, and along with his clergy took part in solemn processions in honour of Jesus, in which the badge was openly displayed. On page 92 Thomas Parentucelli, who was afterwards Nicholas V., is styled *Archbishop of Bologna*; but he was then only Bishop. Bologna did not become an Archiepiscopal see until 1582. The statement (p. 124) that Frederick, on his entry into Rome, March 8th, 1452, 'scarcely vouchased a greeting to the Cardinals,' but treated the Senators with the greatest distinction, seems highly improbable, and rests on the unsupported testimony of Infessura. Nicholas V. was, admittedly, 'the most liberal of all pontiffs,' and 'no pope had incurred less blame or done more for Rome,' but it is only in the sense that they were uncalled for that Porcaro's schemes can be described as 'ill-timed.' Porcaro had a large following. Roman opinion appears to have been greatly divided about him, some went so far as to regard him as a martyr, and contemporary chroniclers who mention his doings do not always condemn him. He seems, indeed, to have had fair reason for regarding the times as propitious to his schemes and for anticipating a successful issue. The second half of the second part of Miss Hamilton's volume is taken up with an account of the Renaissance movement. The account is condensed, but full of interesting information and just views.

An Old Family, or the Setons of Scotland and America. By Monsignor SETON. New York: Brentano. 1899.

In sumptuousness of appearance Dr. Seton's volume on the Seton family will not compare with the two volumes issued some time ago on this side of the Atlantic by his distant kinsman, Mr. George Seton, Advocate. Of those volumes Dr. Seton says, 'without malice,' as we may readily believe, they 'contain some things that are important, many things that are useful, and everything that is superfluous.' The criticism is a little too epigrammatic to be exactly correct, and the last phrase of it is obviously an exaggeration. That his own book contains 'everything that is superfluous' can not be said, though it is not altogether wanting in superfluities, but the rest of the criticism is as true of Dr. Seton's volume as it is of the volumes to which it refers. A carping criticism might take objection to a number of Dr. Seton's notes, especially to those dealing with the derivation of personal names, some of which contain speculations or guesses of a somewhat doubtful character. The derivation of personal, as of local, names is not always a subject for dogmatizing upon. The most plausible derivations are often the most misleading, and plausible as some of Dr. Seton's are, we are not prepared to invariably accept them. Having said this, we have nothing more to say in the way of fault-finding, except a word in respect to the absurdly heavy paper on which the volume is printed. After holding it in the hand for five minutes it becomes fatiguing, and to hold it any longer is decidedly unpleasant. There is no particular virtue in heavy

paper ; quite as good results, both in respect to the type and the illustrations, might have been obtained by the use of a paper less brittle and of lighter weight. Prefaces are usually skipped, but Dr. Seton's is worth reading. It is lively and outspoken, perhaps a little more caustic than many will like, and it sets forth the tone and tendency of the volume. Dr. Seton is proud of his descent from a great and eminent family ; for wealth without birth and culture he has no respect. 'There is nothing grand,' he says, 'in a house founded on gold, whose heirlooms are shares and bonds and city lots.' The desire so widely spread in America to make out a descent from some one of the old British or European families, he speaks of as ridiculous, and has no hesitation in saying that 'few of the Colonial families were scions of the old stock.' But to turn to the book itself. One half of it is devoted to an historical account of the main line of the family, and the other to a sketch of its various branches, and, among other things, to an explanation of the Seton heraldry. As for the antiquity of the Setons, the author is more modest in his claims than some other writers of family history. He finds the beginnings of the family in Normandy, and traces its origin to Picot, the Pikeman, whose name is afterwards associated with Avenel in the immediate neighbourhood of Pays de Perche and then with the local name of de Say. Apparently, therefore, the family at this early period had already branched out into two lines, that of Avenel and that of Say, both of which became baronial families in Normandy, England and Scotland. The Avenels were lords of Biard, and, according to Vincent of Beauvais, were descended from Rollo, the first Duke of Normandy. Hence Avenel, Baron of Biars, who confirmed a grant to Marmoutiers Abbey in 1035, was probably the brother of Osmeline of Avenal, Lord of Say, who made grants to St. Martin's at Séz about 1030. William Avenel de Biars was present at the battle of Hastings, and, along with others of his more immediate name and family, figures on the Roll. In Scotland the Avenels held one of the most important baronies on the Border. Robert Avenel, first Lord Eskdale, was among those who followed David I. from England to Scotland and received lands from the King. He is mentioned in the reign of Malcolm IV., in his old age he became a monk at Melrose, and died in 1185. He was succeeded by his son Gervaise, who is said to have paid much attention to the breeding of horses and to have had an extensive stud in Eskdale. Some time between 1236 and 1249 his son, John Avenel, made over to the monastery of Inchcolm twenty-six acres lying within the barony of Abercorn, and in 1236 Roger Avenel is a witness to Alexander II.'s charter for the formation of Pluscardyn Priory. In 1243 the principal line came to an end, and the lands of Roger Avenel passed to his son-in-law, Henry de Graham of Dalkeith. The senior line of the Avenels is now represented by the Duke of Montrose, the head of the house of Graham. The Honour of Say, whence the Setons came, was on the river Orne, about twenty-six miles north-west of Alençon. Picot Avenel de Say, living in 1030 under Robert, sixth Duke of Normandy, is the first member of the family who is mentioned. His son was Robert Fitz-Picot, Lord of Aunay. The Says do not appear on the Roll of Battle Abbey among those who accompanied the Conqueror, but they are mentioned by Wace in his metrical poem on Rollo and the Dukes of Normandy as taking part in the Battle of Hastings. According to Dugdale there were two considerable families named Say derived from the same Norman original. One remained in England and settled in Shropshire, where Picot de Say, the first to be mentioned in any public document in England, obtained no fewer than twenty-nine lordships. He was summoned to attend the dedication of Shrewsbury Abbey, and was succeeded by his son Henry, who was followed by Helias. Helias left an

only daughter Isabel, Lady of Clun, who married William Fitz-Alan, Governor of Shrewsbury and elder brother of Walter the High Steward of Scotland. She died in 1199, and by his descent from her the Duke of Norfolk inherits the barony of Clun. The first appearance of a de Say in Scotland belongs to the reign of Alexander I in the person of Robert Saher de Say, who fled thither for refuge from Henry I. of England, against whom he had rebelled. Alexander bestowed upon him certain lands which were named after him Say-ton, which was gradually transformed into Seyton or Seton. From him descended all the Lords Seton, Earls of Winton, etc. Saher de Say's son and successor was known as Dougal de Sayton or the 'Black Stranger (lord) of the town of Say' because of the Norman coat of mail he wore. He married Janet, daughter of Robert de Quincy, and was succeeded by his son Seher de Setoune, who was followed by his son Philip de Setoune. Philip married Helen or Alice, only daughter of Waldeve or Waltheof, fifth Earl of Dunbar and March. The charter he obtained from William the Lion confirming to him certain lands is one of the oldest Scottish charters in existence, and is now in the possession of the Earl of Eglinton and Winton. Alexander, who succeeded Philip, married Jean, daughter of Walter Berkeley, Lord High Chamberlain, and subscribed a charter given by Secher de Quincey, Earl of Winchester, his kinsman, to the Church of St. Mary of Newbattle. The charter is interesting as containing the earliest reference to coal mining in Scotland. This was in the thirteenth century, and two centuries later *Aeneas Sylvius*, afterwards Pope Pius II, when writing of his visit to Scotland says—'A sulphurous stone dug from the earth is used by the people for fuel.' Dr. Seton of course writes at length of the part which the Setons took in the war of independence. He is careful, also, to point out the faculty they had for making prudent, or at least profitable, marriages. He has paragraphs also upon the four Maries, and tells an almost infinite number of things in connection with his family, all of which are more or less interesting and important. The Setons of Scotland, and specifically the Setons of Parbroath, he is careful to point out, 'are the only representatives of the once great House of Say in unbroken male descent.' It is to the Setons of Parbroath that the Setons of New York belong. 'The Setons of Parbroath,' Dr. Seton writes, 'are the earliest offshoot from the main trunk of our family tree. They are therefore the senior cadets of the House of Winton, and are not the least among the genealogical juniors.' They are descended from the Sir Alexander Seton who so valiantly defended Berwick against the English in the first half of the fourteenth century. The lands of Parbroath, through the marriage of Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Nicholas Ramsay of Parbroath, fell to John, the fourth son of the Governor of Berwick. Sir John, we are told, lived happily with his wife, by whom, as a woman could not perform a knight's service, he became, *jure uxoris*, one of the Lesser Barons of Scotland. Their descendants were well married, and became in this way related to many of the best families in Scotland. After being in the family for three centuries the estate of Parbroath, which lies about four and a-half miles from Cupar, Fife, was sold to the Lindsays in 1633, and now belongs to the Hopes. The Setons of New York are descended from James Seton, grandson of Sir George Seton, eighth and last Baron of Parbroath. As might be expected, Dr. Seton has many interesting things to say about them. One may be mentioned. Elizabeth Seton, who belonged to the New York Setons, married Robert Berry, and was the mother of the famous Miss Berrys. Of his own nearer relations, Dr. Seton has many things to say, some of which while doubtless of great interest to himself, are of little general interest, and will probably be classed by some

among the things superfluous contained in the volume. On the whole the work is well done, and for those unfortunate individuals who are unable to obtain a copy of Mr. George Seton's more sumptuous volumes, it will undoubtedly do duty as a good substitute.

Gideon Guthrie: A Monograph written 1712 to 1730. Edited by C. E. GUTHRIE WRIGHT, with an Introduction by the Right Rev. JOHN DOWDEN, D.D., Bishop of Edinburgh. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons. 1900.

Gideon Guthrie was born at Castleton, in the parish of Fordoun, on the 24th of May, 1663, and was the son of Harie Guthrie of Halkertown in Angus and Margaret Sibbald, daughter of Mr. David Sibbald of Kair. In his tender youth, he tells us, he was bred at public schools, and was afterwards sent to the University of Aberdeen, where he was educated for the Episcopalian Ministry. He began his 'trials in order to be licensed to preach' in March, 1688, and did not finish them till the following September. But though recommended to the ordinary for a licence to preach, he did not obtain a living. The advent of William of Orange overthrew the Episcopalian form of government and the Presbyterians came in. For a number of years he acted as tutor or as private chaplain. Among others he had for his pupils the sons of William, the ninth Earl Marischal, one of whom became known to fame as Marshal Keith, whose singular career has been told in the pages of this *Review*. In 1703, fifteen years after the Revolution settlement, he was presented by the Earl Marischal to the parish of Fetteresso, but had an uneasy time of it. Within five or six weeks of his settlement, the Earl and the parishioners notwithstanding, he was three times charged before the Presbytery. Guthrie paid no attention to, or, as he says, 'slighted,' the Presbytery. All the same, the litigation went on, and in March, 1705, the Presbytery tried to put into the living Mr. John Webster. The Earl Marischal and the parishioners, however, went to the support of Guthrie, and when the Presbytery 'came with all the powers they could raise to ordain Webster,' the heritors protested, and the 'Parish manfully defended the Church and Church Yard, so that they got access into neither, and when they found themselves defeat they retired to the fund [foundation] of an old Dunghill, and there they ordained their Candidate, but with such precipitancy that their Psalms, Prayers, Sermon, and Ordination Action lasted but the space of fourteen minutes. After that the Parish took such measures as he was never allowed to pray or preach within the parish.' Webster's 'pretended title' lasted for two years, when, on the suggestion of Guthrie, he was presented by the Earl Marischal to New Deer. Guthrie, for his better security, gave up the keys of the Church and manse to the Earl, by whom they were returned to him 'with a tack upon the glebe and manse.' After this Guthrie continued to officiate, but preached in his own 'hyred house.' Later on he was put on the Porteous Roll, and summoned to appear before a Criminal Court at Aberdeen, where he was charged with intrusion, want of legal qualifications, disaffection to the Government, both of Church and State. He was acquitted of the charge of intrusion, but condemned for having baptised and married, and ordered to remove out of the Parish of Fetteresso. But in spite of this Guthrie still held on, and was soon able to go about his ministry with greater freedom, and resisted all the attempts of the Presbytery to oust him. A 'jury who were a packed set of Presbyterians,' brought in a verdict against him on several counts, one of which

was 'my not praying for King George,' and another, 'my drinking the Pretender's health, as they called him.' The Justice Clerk offered to let him off if he would undertake to pray for King George; but on his refusal he was forbidden to preach or exercise any ministerial function in the town or parish of Brechin under a penalty of 500 merks, and declared incapable of holding any benefice in Scotland for a period of seven years. For neglecting to pray for King George he was condemned to pay a fine of 100 merks, and to be imprisoned until the fine was paid. In 1715 he returned to Brechin, from which all the Presbyterian ministers had fled on hearing that Mar had unfurled the Stuart standard at Braemar, and resumed his ministrations until January, 1716, when Argyll's advance northward compelled him to flee. Altogether, Guthrie had a somewhat troubled, if not romantic career. His memoir is well worth reading. It illustrates with remarkable fidelity the ecclesiastical position in Scotland at the Revolution settlement and onward into the eighteenth century. Dr. Dowden's introduction is of commendable brevity, but of advantage to the reader, while the footnotes convey much information respecting a number of individuals who figured more or less during Guthrie's lifetime, but whose fame was not sufficient to assure them a conspicuous place in history.

Studies in John the Scot (Erigena): A Philosopher of the Dark Ages. By ALICE GARDNER. London: Henry Frowde. 1900.

This work does not profess to contain a complete account of Erigena's philosophy. Some of its doctrines are passed by, and others are touched upon only incidentally. Those which are chiefly discussed or expounded are its author's teaching respecting the Supreme Being and the origin of things, predestination, the doctrine of sacraments, and the nature of good and evil. A brief sketch is given of the times in which the Scot lived, and his relations, intellectually and as a translator, to Dionysius the Areopagite; and in a final chapter an attempt is made to estimate the influence which this Irish philosopher had in his own day and generation and upon the philosophy and theology of later times. Of Erigena himself very little is known, and that little is told by Miss Gardner, who, however, is by no means disposed to accept the tradition that he was slain by his pupils, who, dissatisfied with his teaching and angered by its heretical tendency, are said to have risen against him and stabbed him with their pens. The 'studies' are skilfully written, and touch upon many points of perennial interest, but whether they will succeed in directing any general attention to this philosopher of the Dark Ages, who was undoubtedly an acute thinker and a formidable controversialist, may be doubted. The chapter on his influence might have been expanded, but so far as it goes it is excellent. There can be no doubt that his writings, and more especially his translations from Dionysius, had much to do in fostering the tone of thought which prevailed among the mystics of the Middle Ages and in spreading the movement along the Rhine and Rhone, of which Nicholas of Basle, Tauler, and Eckhart, were the acknowledged leaders, but of whom the first, notwithstanding the mystery which always surrounded him, was from a popular point of view, the most important.

Pausanias and other Greek Sketches. By J. G. FRAZER. London: Macmillan & Co. 1900.

The idea of bringing the pieces which this volume contains together and issuing them in the 'Eversley Series' can only be commended. They are

all valuable, and the majority of them will serve as an admirable introduction to one of the best books on ancient Greece which has recently been published. The first piece indeed has done duty in it, and is nothing less than Mr. Frazer's delightful introduction to his elaborate and scholarly edition of Pausanias. Mr. Frazer modestly suggests that it will at least tell those who wonder who Pausanias was something about him. That it certainly will, but it will just as certainly tell them a great deal more; probably it will send them off with the desire to become acquainted with what that ancient traveller wrote, if it does not make them enquire for the edition of the writings Mr. Frazer has prepared. Other pieces are taken from that edition, and consist of descriptions of different parts of Greece in sufficient number and variety to make the volume an excellent companion for those who are about to visit the country, and not less for those who have been there. At the end of the volume we have the charming article Mr. Frazer contributed to the *Encyclopædia Britannica* on Pericles. Altogether the volume is one of the most delightful in a very valuable series.

Heraldry in Relation to Scottish History and Art: being the Rhind Lectures on Archaeology for 1898. By Sir JAMES BALFOUR PAUL, Lord Lyon King of Arms. Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1900.

For the subject of his Rhind Lectures on Archaeology Sir James Balfour Paul has not gone so far back as the majority of those who have held the lectureship before him. Some may doubt whether the one he has chosen is archaeological at all, and not rather historical. Followers of Mr. Spencer and Mr. Tylor will have no difficulty in regarding it, at least in what to them are its earlier phases, as almost purely archaeological, though they may be at one with those who are disposed to regard the heraldry treated of in the lectures as falling entirely within times historical, and as a subject of historical rather than of archaeological study and research. This, however, is a comparatively small matter, and may, after all, resolve itself into a mere question of times and terms. For Sir James heraldry did not begin earlier than the eleventh century, and perhaps not till later, at least heraldry as we now know it. Individual cognisances—'the fount from which armory sprang' and 'the beginnings of Heraldic devices'—it is admitted were known and worn from the earliest times, but they were not worn hereditarily, 'the feature which is the most distinguishing characteristic of mediæval heraldry.' This may be true, and in all probability is, in respect to the lions, griffins, etc., portrayed in the sculptures of Assyria and Chaldea: at anyrate, as Sir James Balfour Paul points out, they bear no indication that they were borne hereditarily. But it may be doubted whether the same may be held respecting the badges and cognisances worn by the tribes or in use in the West. Indications may be met with that they were not only personal, but descended from father to son. While sufficient to raise the doubt, however, these indications, it may be admitted, are not sufficient to allow of any sweeping generalisation. As to the figures which appear in heraldry, there can be no doubt that some of them, such as those of the lion, leopard, and elephant are borrowed from the East, but it is doubtful whether 'the art of the ancient civilisations of the East' has had so much to do with them as our author or as Mr. Ives, whose opinion he adopts, believes. These, however, are more or less matters of speculation, and the passages in which they occur are only ones in the volume which raise points of contention. For the rest, the

book is admirable. It is beautifully printed and beautifully bound, though perhaps not quite heraldically. Nothing can be more attractive than the text. The Lord Lyon has retained in the printed page the direct style of address used in the delivery of the lectures, and, of course, speaks with the authority of his official position throughout. The lectures do not, as need hardly be said, profess to furnish an exhaustive treatise on heraldry, but a happier or more attractive introduction to the study of it will be found with difficulty. Of special interest are the illustrations which are drawn from Scottish history. The paragraphs treating of the history of heraldic art are deserving of the most careful attention, especially those in which the necessity for returning to the simpler and better art of earlier times is enforced. The lecture on *Heraldic Execution in Scotland* will interest many, while that on *Armorial Manuscripts* is one for which all students of heraldry will cordially thank the author. It is to be hoped that his strong plea for the revival of the study of heraldry and the more frequent use of armorial decoration will bear fruit.

Ordinale Conventus Vallis Caulium: The Rule of the Monastio Order of Val-des-Choux in Burgundy. From the original MSS. in the Bibliothique Nationale, etc., with an Introduction by W. DE GRAY BIRCH, LL.D., F.S.A., etc., etc. London: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1900.

Until Mignard wrote his *Histoire des Principales Foundations Religieuses du Bailliage de la Montagne en Bourgogne* very little was known about the Order of Val-des-Choux, though it owned a considerable number of houses or convents, enjoyed a good reputation, and was fairly wealthy. Hélyot devoted to it not more than a couple of pages, and other writers who referred to it after him did not add to his scanty and not always accurate information. Mignard, however, has summed up most of what is recorded about the Mother House and the Order, though in not a few respects in regard to their history his account is imperfect. The Priory of Val-des-Choux is generally understood to have owed its origin to one Viard, a conversus of the adjacent Chartreuse of Louvigny or Lugny, situated on the north bank of the Ounce, in the diocese of Langres, who, desirous of living a life of greater austerity and freedom from temporal cares than was possible to him as a conversus, obtained the permission of his Superior to retire into a forest about two leagues from Lugny, where he lived in a cave and by the extraordinary austerities he practised soon attracted a considerable amount of attention, and acquired a great reputation for the sanctity of his life. The reigning Duke of Burgundy, in whose territory the place was, is said to have paid him frequent visits, and on one occasion, when about to enter upon a perilous war, promised Viard that if he returned successful, he would build a monastery for him in the place. The Duke returned successful and fulfilled his vow. The name for the new monastery was taken from that of its site, Le Val-des-Choux, Latinised *Vallis Caulium*, the Valley of Cabbages. The Valley of Owls has also been suggested as the meaning of the original name, *choue* being an old French word allied to the English *chough*, the German *chouch*, and the modern French *chouette*. The one rendering seems as likely as the other, but, for reasons which need not here be given, the first may probably be regarded as the more likely. According to Mignard, Viard took up his residence in the new foundation some time between 1193 and 1200. Hélyot, however, fixes the date at 2nd November, 1193, and the author of the *Gallia Christiana* gives the year 1195. As was usually the case, the buildings

were at first small and restricted, but by degrees the Dukes and lords of Burgundy and other benefactors enabled the brotherhood to extend them. Among the benefactors mentioned in the Rule, and in a series of documents Dr. Birch has placed at the end of it, are the two Dukes of Burgundy, Eudes or Otho III., and Hugh IV., Boyons de Villiers-le-Duc, Barthélemy de Vaunaire and his wife Marie, Guillet de Villiers and his wife Agnes, and Robert D'Aignay, their donations being of the usual kinds, lands, fishings, wine, etc., together with a curious grant of pasturage. In accordance with a rule or decree contained in the *Ordinale*, the monastery was dedicated to St. Mary the Virgin and St. John the Baptist. Few vestiges of the ancient buildings now remain, but plans and drawings of such of them as are of interest have been prepared for the Marquess of Bute by M. Ch. Emonts of Paris. Following Chopin, Hélyot states that there were thirty dependent houses of the Order, but Mignard, whom Dr. Birch follows, enumerates only twenty. With three exceptions they were all in France. The three exceptions were in Scotland, at Ardchattan in Argyll; Beaulieu, near Inverness; and Pluscardine, near Elgin. The first was founded by Duncan Mackoul in 1230 or 1233; the second by John Bisset, in 1230; and the third by Alexander II., also in 1230. Beauly was a preceptory of Ardchattan. The dedications were in the case of Beauly to the Blessed Virgin; in that of Ardchattan to St. John the Baptist; while Pluscardine, notwithstanding the rule that houses of the Order should be dedicated to St. Mary and St. John the Baptist, was dedicated to St. Andrew. All three are now in ruins. Pluscardine became in later times a cell to the Benedictine Abbey of Dunfermline. Its ruins, which formerly were in the hands of the Duke of Fife, have now passed into the hands of the Marquess of Bute, who is putting them into a safe state of repair, and having what remains for a history of the house collected. From indications in the Rule, it would appear that there were several houses of the Order in Germany, but of these nothing is known. The Rule of the Order as first established, with some later additions, is contained in two ancient MSS., one of which is preserved in the National Library at Paris, and the other among the archives of the Department of Allier at Moulins-sur-Allier. The first, it is said, appears to be a copy of the archetype of the Prior of Val-des-Choux for the use of the first daughter Priory of Le Val-Croissant. The second, or Moulins MS., it is said, appears to have belonged to Sanctus Locus, the seventh daughter house. Both MSS. are fully described in Dr. Birch's volume. For the earlier statutes Dr. Birch has used the Paris MS., collating it, however, with the Moulins, which he has used for the statutes made in the years 1251-1268, while for statutes of a later date the Paris MS. has been used. The peculiarity of the Rule is that it has been framed by selecting what is best in those of the Benedictines, Cistercians, and Carthusians, and adding to what was taken from these other statutes not hitherto in use and presumably drawn up by Viard. 'Silence and peace, simplicity of life, the greater part spent in prayer and religious exercises, appointed hours and methods of work, rest, worship and relaxation,' seem, as Dr. Birch remarks, 'to have made up the daily routine in this sequestered spot hidden in the forest of Villiers-le-duc.' In the Preface we have a list of the French and Scottish houses of the Order, and another of the Priors of the Mother House and the Martyrology of the same. After the Rule of the Order comes a Calendar of documents (the text of some being given in full), relating to the Priory of Val-des-Choux, preserved among the archives of the Department of Allier, and several very complete and useful indices. The volume is beautifully printed; the Editorial work has been done well, and the *Ordinale* cannot fail to be of use to the student of monastic economics and liturgiology.

A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles. Edited by Dr. JAMES A. H. MURRAY. Gradely—Greement (Vol. IV.) by H. BRADLEY. Inferable—Inpushing (Vol. V.) by Dr. MURRAY. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press.

Every effort is apparently being made to push on the completion of this great work, for this quarter, instead of one section as formerly, we have two, one belonging to the volume on which Dr. Murray, the editor-in-chief, is working, and the other belonging to the division which has been assigned to Mr. Bradley. The two sections are of the same size and are distinguished by that fulness and accuracy of treatment which we have become accustomed to look for in this monumental work, and which, to say the least, are unsurpassed in any other similar English Dictionary. In Mr. Bradley's section by far the largest number of the words are proximately of French etymology, their ulterior being usually Latin. Some, however, go back to the Teutonic, and one, *gravel*, to the Celtic. A recent adoption from Celtic is *gralloch*. Native words are numerous and important. *Great*, with its compounds and derivations, occupies eighteen columns. As usual, there is a number of interesting notes on the history and on the etymology of the words. In Dr. Murray's section words of Latin derivation are still, as in his previous section, much to the front, but words of native origin are proportionally more numerous. These are, for the most part, compounds or derivations of the adverb and preposition *in*. Much interesting information is given under *inference*, *infinitesimal*, *infinitive*, *influence*, and *influenza*. From the article under the last we learn that the word was first used in 1743, and in the quotations under it the annals of the mysterious trouble it designates may be traced. As usual, words in use in the Scottish Lowlands receive attention. Among them are *graip*, *graith*, *grassum*, *gree*, *ingle*, *inlaik*.

Etudes sur la Langue des Francs à l'époque Mérovingienne. Par H. d'ARBOIS DE JUBAINVILLE, Membre de l'Institut. Paris: Émile Bouillon. 1900.

In an interesting preface to this volume the author tells us that he has long cherished the ambition of taking a place in the ranks of the lexicographers by throwing together his numerous notes, and preparing a couple of dictionaries, one of the language of the Franks during the Merovingian epoch, and another of the language of the Gauls, but that, unfortunately, owing to his many other engagements and the shortness of life the task has become impossible for him. Here, therefore, he has put together such notes as he has been able to make on the language of the Franks, and written for them an introduction of about twice their length. Both introduction and notes are of great value from a historical, as well as from a lexicographical point of view, and are of importance to the student of Gregory's *Historia Francorum*, and its continuation by Fredegarius. The introduction is devoted to an analysis of a number of personal names, royal and otherwise, at the time of the Merovingians, to a discussion of their origin and meaning, and to the formation of diminutives and pet names. There is also a chapter on Merovingian phonetics. The first chapter is taken up with a remarkably elaborate investigation into the names of Clovis and his four sons, Thierry, Clodomir, Childebert, and Clotaire, all of which are followed through their various changes as they appear on the pages of the historians, on various documents, and on a number of coins. The changes through which Thierry has gone are

numerous, and one would scarcely recognise in Theudericus the official name of Thierry III., from which Thierry is descended. In the most ancient manuscripts Clovis is designated Chlodonechus, of which Chlothoueonus is a variant. Clovis II. signed a document, belonging to the year 653, Chloduius, and another, belonging to 692, is signed Chlodoueus by Clovis III. Another form of the name is Hludouicuſ. Clotilde, anciently Chlothichildis or Chlotchildis, is not the name of the wife of Clovis I., but of his daughter, of which the first element, Chlothi, Chlot, is identical with Chlodo, Chlotho, the first part of the name of her father, Chlodoueonus, Chlothoueonus, while the second is taken from the second part of the name of the wife of Clovis I., Chrothi-childis, Chrode-childis, Chrodi-childis, Chrot-childis. Clodomir appears in Gregory as Chlodomeris. Fredegarius writes Chlodomeris once and Chlodomeres thrice. Similar variations are shown in the names of the remaining sons of Clovis I., and singular ingenuity is exhibited in tracing the origin and significance of these names, as also of the many hypocoristic names for persons. The fragments of a Dictionary, with which the volume concludes, contain a number of personal names in use among the Franks during the Merovingian era. The illustrative passages are numerous and of great interest. The work is one for the student—for the student especially of French history and language during the period covered—and will be found extremely useful, containing as it does on every page information which it will be difficult to find elsewhere.

SHORT NOTICES.

St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans (Macmillan). In this slim octavo Mr. W. G. Rutherford, the Headmaster of Westminster, furnishes a new translation, together with a brief analysis of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, which, he says, 'was once a plain letter concerned with a theme which plain men might understand,' but which is now 'far from plain to many who in knowledge, and even in spiritual discernment, are at least the equals of the tradesmen, mechanics, and servants to whom it was immediately addressed.' The blame of this, he thinks, is in a large measure due to the division into verses and chapters, and the use of the double column in the printed page. In many passages, too, some of them cardinal to the argument, he is of opinion that the English rendering is not only inadequate, but misleading. The obscurity evident in the two recognised English versions of the Epistle he attributes in some measure to the misunderstanding of certain late idioms in the usage of Greek prepositions. That Paul should misuse prepositions he does not think surprising, 'for nobody can speak idiomatically two languages.' Of this misuse of prepositions a number of examples are given. 'Their conclusion between one another' (Rom. ii. 15), really signifies 'the conclusion of reasons at which they arrive by controversy'; 'the man out of faith in Jesus' (Rom. iii. 26), 'the man who is actuated by faith in Jesus'; 'a righteousness of God out of faith into faith' (Rom. i. 17), 'a righteousness of God springing from faith, realised in faith.' Mr. Rutherford is of opinion that St. Paul's Greek vocabulary was 'extremely meagre,' and in one of his notes remarks, 'If St. Paul had known Greek better, he would have proved himself one of the greatest masters of expression and style.' 'The results which he achieves with so defective an instrument,' it is added, 'are surprising.' Mr. Rutherford's translation is, as need hardly be said, scholarly. It is not what is usually called 'literal': an effort is made to bring out the exact meaning in idiomatic English, and often with surprising results. The volume will prove of real service to those who wish to understand this much controverted epistle.

A Royal Rhetorician (Constable). In this little volume Mr. R. S. Rait has brought together King James VI's. *Treatise on Scottis Poetry* and his *Counterblast to Tobacco*, and has printed along with them certain extracts from the same author's 'Essay on the art of Poesie,' and specimens of his translations of the Psalms of David. To all of which he has supplied an introduction and a number of notes. At the end of the volume is a list of the chief writings of King James. The volume will be welcome to many, more especially when edited by so capable an editor as Mr. Rait.

In the 'Famous Scots' series (Anderson & Ferrier), now so well known and highly appreciated, we have the following volumes, *Sir David Wilkie*, by Edward Pinnington; *Thomas Guthrie*, by Oliphant Smeaton; and *The Eriskines*, by A. R. MacEwen. All of them bear evidence of very careful study and will take, as they abundantly deserve, a foremost place in the useful series to which they belong.

Life and Times of William Guthrie, M.A., Minister of Fenwick (Alex. Gardner), is a brief biography written by the Rev. W. H. Carlaw, who, among other things, has edited *The Scots Worthies*. It is apparently the first of a short series of biographies of the 'Heroes of the Covenant,' and should find acceptance among a large class of readers, both in Scotland and abroad.

The Poems and Songs of Robert Tannahill (Alex. Gardner), is a reprint of Semple's edition of the poet's works, in which the Life has been relieved, not without advantage, of some superfluous matter.
